EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN TANZANIA FROM INDEPENDENCE TO THE PRESENT: CONTINUITY AND TRANSFORMATION

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This thesis studies the changes in the formal educational policies in Tanzania from independence until the present. Since independence in 1961, the government of Tanzania has attempted several times to reform the educational system to meet their development objectives different objectives and generate desired outcomes. This thesis compares the 1967 Education for Self-Reliance policy with the most recent 1995 Education and Training Policy by taking a historical view of the role of work-oriented education in primary and secondary institutions. Using the framework developed by Wim Hoppers (1996), this study finds that work-oriented education is an important strategy for improving the relevance of the educational system in both policies. However the educational system has undergone noteworthy changes in the approach and focus of work-oriented education during this time. The most significant of these changes is a shift in emphasis from rural-oriented vocational education to technology education as the major focus of work-oriented education, demonstrated through supplementary education policies such as the 2007 Information and Communication Technology policy. This thesis maintains that the continued presence of work-oriented education has important implications for the 1995 Education and Training Policy, particularly because the current work-oriented program shares many of the same challenges that impeded the 1967 Education for Self-Reliance policy. Through historical analysis of past experiences and issues, these challenges must be recognized and addressed in order for the current policy to be successfully implemented and to achieve its work-oriented education objectives.

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INTRODUCTION

The history of Tanzania's educational system is a complex one, and has been driven by many goals, ideologies, intentions, and motives. Yet, understanding the changes and recognizing the similarities across all of the fluctuations and shifts in education in Tanzania can reveal important implications for current and future educational policies. This thesis seeks to demonstrate that work-oriented education remains an important component of the current Tanzanian educational policy despite ashift in the 1995 Education and Training Policy (ETP).This shift saw policies move away from vocational education to a more general education policy, and it was accompanied by a change in policy emphasis from rural-oriented vocational education to technology education.

The concept of work-oriented education was a defining feature of the post-independence Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) policy, which was engineered as a strategy for increasing the relevance of education to Tanzanians. Since the 1990s Tanzania has experienced a shift toward a general education curriculum, although a work-oriented education approach continues to inform the current ETP policy and its related policy documents. Both policies have used work-oriented education as a way to integrate practical education with general educationinbasic educational institutions, an integration that is often referred to in Tanzania in terms of practical knowledge versus theoretical knowledge. This thesis also considers the shift in the primary approach and focus of this practical education. The ESR policy emphasized agricultural and other rural

occupations and the acquisition of related skills as its primary focus of practical education in work-oriented education. However, the current ETP policy focuses upon technology and science education as the best way to prepare students for work and production. This shift is related to changes in the policy-derived definition of relevant education that developed in this period.

1.1 CURRENT STUDY AND METHODS

This thesis uses the framework for work-oriented education developed by Wim Hoppers (1996) to study changes in the objectives, approaches, and programs of work-oriented education within the national educational policies from the introduction of the ESR policy to the present ETP policy. Work-oriented education is strongly linked to the policy-derived definition of relevant education, and it is also impacted by changes in the external and situational environments. In Tanzania, the association of relevant education with the work-orientation approach has remained consistent from 1967 to the present, but has undergone significant changes in its *focus*, changes which correspond to shifts in the larger national and international environments. Correspondingly, while work-oriented education in the ESR period focused predominantly upon rural-oriented vocational education, which defined agricultural and vocational education and training as the most relevant preparation for production and work, the ETP policy stresses the importance of developing students' ability to use modern technology, particularly computers and communication technology, as well as applied science and mathematics. These changes are strongly linked to the political, economic, and social conditions of the periods. The broader context of the country provides the background against which relevant education, as it is related to work-oriented education, changed its focus.

By demonstrating that the ESR and ETP policies have remained within the same overarching framework of work-oriented education despite the changes undergone in the

educational system, it is possible to draw implications for the current ETP policy from the past ESR policy. Many of the strategies, shortcomings, and failures of ESR hold potential lessons for the ETP policy, which faces similar challenges in integrating practical education with technology education. These relatively recent shifts in policy approaches and the focus of relevant education have also had implications for Tanzanian teacher perceptions about the goals of education and educational relevance. This study seeks to show the impact of these shifts and the continuing influence of ESR philosophies and problems through a series of qualitative interviews with secondary schools teachers from a private secondary school in the Karagwe District in Tanzania. Finally, keeping in mind the far-reaching influences of past ideas and experiences in Tanzanian history and the lasting impressions and constraints that history can impart, this paper attempts to maintain a historical perspective when presenting discussions or explanations of changes in policy and attitudes toward education in Tanzania.

This thesisfocuses primarily on Tanzanian educational policy as it relates to formal secondary educational institutions; however at times the discussion may widen in its scope, as many of the national policies refer more broadly to formal basic education. The thesis begins with an introduction to the historyof education in Tanzania during the pre-colonial and colonial periods, two periods which set the stage for the development of post-independence policies in Tanzania; even today, they continue to have an impact on people's understanding of and attitudes toward education. The thesis then introduces the 'Education for Self-Reliance' policy of 1967 and positions it within Hoppers' (1996) framework of work-oriented education. The primary document used for the evaluation of the ESR policy isNyerere's "Education for Self-Reliance" essay (1967). The 1995 Training and Education Policy is then evaluated, again in the context of the work-oriented education framework.

Within this theoretical educational model, the changes between the two policies' goals and foci are identified and discussed in an attempt to determine the full extent and direction of the changes, such as the movement toward a general education approach and the continued impact of ESR. Based upon their common grounds in work-oriented education, the similar challenges faced by both ESR and ETP in terms of integrating practical education are presented and discussed in an attempt to understand the implications for the current ETP policy. It is suggested that achieving an understanding of the difficulties and lessons learned from ESR has the potential to deepen insight and help to address similar challenges and pitfalls facing ETP.

Finally, drawing on a case study from a secondary school in the rural Karagwe District, this thesis addresses teacher perceptions of the current educational system and their own conceptualizations of relevant education, with attention to the historical foundations of education in Tanzania and the legacy of ESR.

1.1.1 Methods

This thesis primarily utilizes secondary analysis and text analysis of policy documents to form and to provide evidence for its study and conclusions. This includes educational policy documents from the Tanzanian Ministry of Education and Vocational Training and official government reviews of those policy documents. The policy documents analyzed are the 1967 Education for Self-Reliance document, the 1995 Education and Training Policy, and the 2007 Information and Communication Technology policy. This thesis also makes use of secondary analysis of these policies and their supporting documents.

The final section of the thesis utilizes discourse analysis through qualitative open-ended interviews with educators at a private secondary boarding school in a rural region. Approval for my research and methods was obtained as an exempt study through the University of Pittsburgh's Institutional Review Board before any research was conducted. The data was collected from eleven open-ended, qualitative interviews in July 2010. The group interviewed consisted of eight secondary school teachers and two school heads at KARASECO, as well as one school head from a public primary school in Karagwe. Nine of the interviewees were male and two were female. The interviewees ranged in years of teaching experience from three years to twenty-four years, and nine of the interviewees had prior experience with public schools and four had prior experience with primary schools, including the one primary school head.

The purpose of the research study, as described to participants, was an attempt to discern how the different definitions and perspectives surrounding the concept of relevant education manifest themselves in the educational system. The participants were told that the research was concerned both with the concept of relevant education and also with understanding the impact of the old ESR policy and its place in education in Tanzania. The interviews were conducted using an open-ended interview guide, which included key questions to focus the interview. Because of the open-ended and conversational nature of the interviews, not all of the questions on the interview guide were asked and beyond the first opening question there was no specific order to either the topics or questions within the interviews. The first questioned to open up the interview asked educators what makes an education relevant to students in Tanzania. Depending on the response and direction of the conversation, questions from the interview guide were selected as appropriate to direct the discussion toward further topics of interest.

1.2 RELATED ISSUES, CONCEPTS, AND DEFINITIONS: RELEVANT EDUCATION, PRACTICAL EDUCATION, AND WORK-ORIENTED EDUCATION IN TANZANIA

This section seeks to introduce the concepts and issues presented and used in this thesis. It is meant to provide only a brief presentation of certain key concepts and issues that may be used or elaborated upon later in the text, as well as set the boundaries of their usage.

As a point of preliminary clarification of terminology, it is necessary to explain that the name of the modern day state of "Tanzania" will be used ubiquitously throughout this thesis in an attempt to avoid confusion. Thus, "Tanzania" will refer to a generalized geographical territory where modern-day Tanzania is located, this term of reference encompassing the precolonial region, the colony of German East Africa, the British colony of Tanganyika, independent Tanganyika, and the United Republic of Tanzania.

1.2.1 Relevant education.

At the broadest level, relevant education refers to an education that "relat[es] the design of basic schooling to the life and work of the wider community" (Sinclair & Lillis, 1980, p. 21). Thus relevant education is contextually defined based upon economic, social, and political situations that shape perceptions about what kind of an education is appropriate for the students. The notion that students should be provided with an education that will be relevant to their current and future lives is a presupposed obligation of educational systems(Sinclair & Lillis, 1980). Yet deciding what constitutes educational relevance for a diversified and large body of students is a difficult and highly subjective task.

Because different groups and people can have very different ideas about what a "relevant" education should provide based upon their expectations, goals, and perspectives, it is inevitable that there will be many different and often diverse definitions of relevant education within a single educational system. Particularly, students and parents often have a very different conceptualization of relevant education means for them than do policymakers; however it is the government and policymakers who ultimately determine the official stance on relevant education. Because this study is focused primarily upon policy changes, it is this policy-derived definition of relevant education that will be employed. However the diversity and conflict surrounding the concept of relevant education in Tanzania will be acknowledged and addressed in later discussions on the challenges and problems facing both the ESR and ETP policies.

Although the concept of relevant education within the development education discourse is difficult to define, Sinclair and Lillis (1980) identify three purposes thata 'relevant' education should achieve within a society: 1) learning-centered purpose - education should initiate personal development, as students obtain a deeper understanding of their world through their studies,2) societal-centered purpose - education should be a way to socialize students and prepare them to become valuable and well-adapted members of society,and 3) economic-centered purpose – education should provide students with the knowledge, skills, and technology necessary for their future positions within the workforce and should facilitate increased productivity (p. 21). A comprehensive education will accomplish all three of these principles, but it is up to policymakers to develop educational policies to achieve this balance and to decide upon which areas to focus the most attention and resources. In developing countries, policymakers have been inclined to stress the third objective in national education policies, which focuses on the economic benefits that education can provide, due to government and foreign aid donor concerns

with economic development and the belief that education is the best way to increase industrialization and production(Sinclair & Lillis, 1980). This preoccupation with economic development has often shaped the direction of the relevant education discourse, and policies that follow a relevant education approach tend to focus upon improved production and economic growth, since this is often perceived as the most "relevant" issue from the perspective of developing countries.

Beyond constructing a precise definition of relevant education, educational systems face the challenge of devising ways to actually improve relevance in education through curriculum and implementation. In sub-Saharan African countries this becomes particularly difficult, as policymakers are faced with the additional burdens of widespread poverty, extreme social and economic inequities, and a lack of resources with which to implement policies, which often makes the goal of providing a relevant education unattainable, even if a definition of relevance can be agreed upon.

1.2.2 Practical education as relevant education

In the Tanzanian educational system, the term “relevant education” is most often associated with the idea of “practical education.” In many ways, practical education has become the policy-derived definition of educational relevance from the period of colonial education to the present day (D. Komba & Temu, 1996). For the purposes of this thesis, practical education, in its broadest sense, refers to an education that provides students with the “knowledge of how to make or do things” (Middleton, Ziderman, & Adams, 1993, p. 186). A practical education is one that incorporates this knowledge within a curriculum in order to provide contextuallyrelevantknowledge and skills to students. The terms “practical subjects” and

“practical skills” are derived from the concept of practical education, and the specific components of a practical education curriculum may or may not be compulsory for students within the educational system (Middleton, et al., 1993).

Practical education is often associated with the incorporation of vocational training into a curriculum; however this sometimes leads to the common but mistaken presumption that the addition of vocational subjects is sufficient to make an education “practical.” Practical education is also mentioned frequently within the educational issue of “theory” versus “practice” because of its emphasis on the development of knowledge and/or skills through hands-on activities, in opposition to purely theoretical knowledge and education (Rowell & Prophet, 1990). In general discussions of relevant education in the 1970s and 1980s, its use was most often meant to highlight acquisition of rural-oriented skills for production and agriculture(Crossley, 1984). This was particularly true in the case of Tanzania, where the reforms of the Education for Self-Reliance policy were intended to improve worker production by providing an education that was relevant in the context of the predominantly rural, agricultural economy of the nation.

This strong association between the term "relevant" education andpractical education persists today. However, in contemporary times the concept ofpractical education has expanded to include an education with a strong emphasis on technology, science, and math within schools, focusing on the necessity of incorporating practical education components (i.e. laboratories and computer skills) into the curriculum, instead of just imparting theoretical knowledge of these subjects (Hoppers, 1995). This trend is also significant in the context of relevant education in Tanzania, which has placed increasing emphasis upon the importance of technology education, particularly beginning in the 1990s.

In the history of independent Tanzania's educational policy, the primary method for making education more "practical" – and thereby improving relevancy in the context of the policy-derived definition – has been the promotion of a "work-oriented" approach to education(Hoppers, 1996).

1.2.3 Work-oriented education

Work-oriented education is concerned with the ways in which basic educational institutions prepare students to function and transition into the world of work after ending formal education. Work-oriented education is adopted with the intention of creating an educational system that effectively prepares students for productive work within their environment (Hoppers, 1996). Thus, the nature of work-oriented education causes it to be theoretically related to practical education, in the sense that a "practical" education is "one which develops skills which may be applied in the everyday world, especially in the world of work" (Rowell & Prophet, 1990, p. 18). In independent Tanzania, work-oriented education has been used as a primary method for integrating practical education with the general education curriculum. The ultimate goal of this approach is to encourage a greater balance between theory and practice in basic education, in order to effectively and appropriately prepare students for work within the Tanzanian environment.

Work-oriented education both is affected by and attempts to affect issues surrounding the topics of educational perspective and rural education (Hoppers, 1996). Educational perspective refers to the dichotomy between general education and vocational education in educational theory. This dichotomy has important implications for rural education and the shape of the work-oriented approach and its programs.

The General Education - Vocational Education Continuum

General education and vocational education perspectives on education can be viewed within the context of a continuum between the educational approaches of general education and vocational education. In the educational policy dichotomy identified by Elinor Barber(1981), a vocational educationapproach is in contrast to a strictly academic or "general" education approach. General education refers to the traditional western model of education that focuses on core academic subjects such as mathematics, language, sciences, and social studies, as well as other similar courses. This type ofapproachis inherently theory-based, and tends to establish, if not intentionally, a mutually exclusive relationship between academic knowledge/learning and practical/"real-world" knowledge and skills (Hoppers, 1995). In contrast, vocational education is intended to prepare students for work and productivity through the transmission of practical knowledge and skills that will ideally prepare students for life within their environment. This approach is often promoted by the argument that it is the most contextually appropriate and realistically applicable model for economies with small modem sectors and a preponderantly rural and agriculturally-based population.

The argument about general education approach versus a vocational education approach is particularly important in the context of rural education, because of assumptions made about the specific needs of rural areas and the perceived irrelevance of standard academic education to students in rural environments (Barber, 1981).

Rural Education and Issues of Inequality

The discussion surrounding vocational education is critical in rural education because of its perceived importance in addressing rural development issues and its potential ability to improve educational systems' value to students in rural areas. Policies for vocational education in rural areas are designed to address these problems by increasing the educational relevance for students through curriculur content that is tailored to the local environment and production economy. This in turn is expected to improve rural standards of living for the overall community, as well as solve the problems of rural unemployment, migration, and the limited availability of modern sector jobs by giving students skills to work in the rural sector: agricultural skills and other manual labor vocations (Barber, 1981).

Rural areas do have different educational needs, especially in comparison to urban areas, as indicatedby the pervasive disparities between urban and rural schools in both access and quality of schooling. These differences seem to indicate a corresponding need for different policies as well. Yet an educational policy that differentiates between urban and rural schools may unintentionally but perhaps inevitably worsen the existing urban-rural inequalities through policies that discriminate against rural students and create barriers, ultimately preventing social and economic mobility among rural populations. Additionally, curricula that have been lauded as rural-centered have typically been received with dissatisfaction from parents and students, and even increased drop-out rates. Education which focuses on practical skills and vocational training is often, and not incorrectly, associated with a decrease in opportunities for secondary and higher education, which is often a key incentive and goal for both students and their parents (Barber, 1981). For both historical and contemporary reasons, education is regarded as a

gateway to economic and social mobility and modern sector, wage-paying jobs, and it is these benefits that students are most often seeking (Knamiller, 1984).

This conflict between the policy trend toward vocational education and the opposing tendency of student preferences for a general academic education and rejection of vocational education was identified by Foster (1965) in the well-known “Vocational School Fallacy.” His findings not only challenged the ability and power of schools to act as a mechanism for social and economic change in societies, through either vocational training or other means, but also “backed the good sense of young people (and their parents to work out what was in their best career interests” (King & Martin, 2002, p. 6). Students’ preference for higher-paying modern jobs and professions is a rational choice over agricultural and manual labor occupations that offer little upward mobility or security in comparison.

In this respect, a general education approach that is standardized across both urban and rural areas seems beneficial, as this approach avoids policy discrimination based on location which rural-oriented programscan create. This is also generally in line with the preferences of people in rural areas, who are aware of the existing disparities between urban and rural schools, and usually demonstrate a high demand for general academic education in schools because of the social and economic opportunities it offers. Another important benefit of general education is its perceived ability to teach students critical thinking skills and a "learning-to-learn" approach, rather than specific skills of limited situational value. These more general skills have the potential to be more applicable to students in their daily lives, and enable students to adapt to change within their environment by providing them with the ability to analyze and problem-solve across multiple situations. This is especially important because future manpower needs and community development are not easy phenomena to predict, and trends and labor

demandscan change rapidly. Therefore, very specific skills for particular vocational careers could potentially be rendered obsolete, while the highly transferable skills imparted by a general education approach would continue to be applicable across a wide variety of situations (Barber, 1981).

However, the general education approach also presents its own set of problems, particularly in the context ofinequality and rural areas. First, thepositive impact that education can have upon preexisting societal inequalities has been proven to be extremely limited; second, a general education approach that is identical across both rural and urban areas may even contribute to the problem of urban-rural inequity, simply because it does not account for other existing inequalities. Urban students will continue to out-perform rural students because of increased access to resources, such as better-quality teachers, superior facilities, availability of technology and computers, and many other factors. Furthermore, due to low educational quality in many rural schools, it is doubtful that many students are obtaining the aforementioned skills of a general education, such as critical-thinking and problem-solving. Therefore, even if apparently identical according to policy and funding, the education that is offered to urban students is inevitably of higher quality than in rural areas(Evans, 1981).

Additionally, there is cause to question the overall usefulness of traditional academic subjects to the wide majority of students who pass through the educational system. While education is often pursued by both parents and students as a means of improving living standards by obtaining modem sector jobs and salaries, this view of the benefits of education is highly misleading. It has been shown that the majority of students who manage to complete primary and secondary schooling are not only unable to get modern sector jobs, but also that their schooling typically has "no impact on the community, and economically the influence of

schooling is marginal"(Knamiller, 1984, p. 62). This does not take in consideration the students who attend school without ever completing a degree. Therefore the argument is made that if the education that students receive in school is relatively irrelevant to their lives afterward, their time could have been better spent in acquiring knowledge and skills more pertinent to their futures. Due to the extremely limited availability of modern sector jobs in most developing countries and the high percentage of the population engaged in the agricultural and rural sectors, it appears irrational for students to pursue higher levels of education that they will not need to prepare them for careers in a modern sector which do not exist. In light of this problem, vocational education often appears attractive to policymakers with its focus on developing rural areas and improving living standards by increasing economic production in traditional labor occupations, such as agriculture (Sinclair & Lillis, 1980).

1.2.4 Implications for work-oriented education and the Tanzanian context

The above discussion about standard versus vocational education appears to indicate that a mixed systems approach is necessary to try to harness the benefits that both approaches can provide and to reduce the negative effects(Evans, 1981). In reality, educational systems have typically fallen somewhere along the continuum between purely standard education and purely vocational education approaches, and the search for relevant education is principally based upon finding the “correct” balance between these two extremes. The integration of work-oriented education is one attempt to achieve a balance between these two polar approaches through the incorporation of knowledge and skills that "are in one way or another related to work" into the basic education curricula in primary and secondary schools (Hoppers, 1996, p. 19).

In many ways, work-oriented education has been an integral part of Tanzania's educational history. Indigenous education in Tanzania, although usually not institutionalized, was to a large degree "work-oriented" in its methods and goals. Future missionary and colonial educational policies viewed work-oriented education as the most relevant to the Tanzanian situation, particularly in rural areas; however, the colonial administrations often tried to use work-oriented policies to further their own interests, either in reinforcing segregational educational inequalities or furthering economic growth, contributing to the ineffectiveness and unpopularity of these policies. With independence, educational policies continued to promote work-oriented education as most appropriate for the Tanzanian environment, particularly as a way for rural areas to achieve social and economic development by making education more "relevant" to communities and students, who were to stay within their communities and use the skills and knowledge acquired from their education. Yet the issue of achieving educational relevance within the imported western school model has never been fully resolved, despite multiple attempts at reform and adaption of the model. Education for Self-Reliance was the first policy of independent Tanzania that made serious attempts to transform the western model and to adapt it to fit within the context of the Tanzanian environment, primarily through the incorporation of work-oriented education.

In order to understand the development of post-independence educational policies and the later role of work-oriented education, it is necessary to first achieve an understanding of Tanzania's past experiences with education and learning. The next two chapters are devoted to achieving this understanding in the context of pre-colonial, indigenous African education and the transformative role of colonial and western education within Tanzania.

2.0 HISTORY OF THE TANZANIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM: AFRICAN INDIGENOUS EDUCATION, COLONIAL EDUCATION, AND RELEVANCE

Indigenous education refers to the types and methods of education and educational systems in Africa before the introduction or widespread proliferation of the western formal educational model. Indigenous education consisted of nonformal, informal, and formal methods of instruction and educational institutions, and as a culturally and socially derived institution, it was a naturally integrated part of the local community. It is generally recognized as a holistic and "utilitarian" approach to preparing individuals for all aspects of life in their societies, and because of this is often viewed as a model upon which African education today should be based as "an education that has the input of all members of the community, and which prepares each individual for a particular profession or occupational activity" (Adeyemi & Adeyinka, 2003, p. 425).

2.1 INDIGENOUS EDUCATION IN TANZANIA: RELEVANCE INHERENT?

Indigenous education in pre-colonial Tanzania was both informal and nonformal, and was viewed as a process by which students were assimilated into society and were taught the necessary skills and knowledge to function and work within that society. In this context, "functionalism was the main guiding principle" of indigenous education; it was viewed primarily

as a means to initiate a student into adulthood by training them for economic production and social responsibilities within a specific society. As such, education was not viewed as intrinsically valuable of itself, but rather was valued for its perceived outcomes (A. Babs Fafunwa & Aisiku, 1982, pp. 9-10).

African indigenous education is based upon five fundamental principles that act as the rationales for the goals and methods of the educational system. These are: preparationism, functionalism, communalism, perennialism, and wholisticism. Respectively, these principles ensured that education furnished individuals with the knowledge and skills they needed for their societal roles, that it was a utilitarian and participatory education, that it fostered unity and cooperation within the community, that it preserved and transmitted cultural and societal traditions, and that it prepared individuals to be adaptive and knowledgeable in a wide variety of roles, tasks, and situations (Adeyemi & Adeyinka, 2003, pp. 432-433)

These principles underlie the goals of indigenous education, listed by Fafunwa (1974) as:

1. To develop the child's latent physical skills
2. To develop character
3. To inculcate respect for elders and those in position of authority
4. To develop intellectual skills
5. To acquire specific vocational training and to develop a healthy attitude towards honest labour
6. To develop a sense of belonging and to participate actively in family and community affairs
7. To understand, appreciate and promote the cultural heritage of the community at large (p. 20)

Many of these goals encompass the same basic goals of most modern educational systems, but also go further in objectives relating to the community and cultural knowledge and the social assimilation of the individual. In many African countries, including Tanzania, education does not just focus upon intellectual development for the sake of productivity or societal advancement or development, but "involves intellectual, physical and attitudinal training in order for [youngsters] to develop fully into acceptable adults in the society" (Adeyemi & Adeyinka, 2003, p. 430). This was closely related to the important role of education in character development, and the indoctrination of socially valuable and desired principles and behaviors. Another key characteristic of indigenous education was its emphasis on "lifelong" learning, in that education and learning were viewed as a continual process that was never completed or able to be abandoned, but instead must build upon themselves continually in order for the individual to adapt successfully in their environment (Adeyemi & Adeyinka, 2003).

The nature of nonformal education presupposes its introduction in the earliest stages of a child's life. Learning was accelerated by the fact that children were given much responsibility within their households, and they were expected from a young age to behave in accordance with societal norms. Because of the emphasis on cooperation and communal living in many African societies, children were expected to contribute to the production and well-being of their families and communities at a very early age (Zanolli, 1971). The ultimate goal of African indigenous education was to produce a high-quality member of society, both in terms of social and economic contributions (A. Babs Fafunwa & Aisiku, 1982). While this goal implies a focus on the greater good of the society, an individual with these qualities would ultimately be the best-equipped for survival and success within such societies.

2.1.1 Methods of education

Pre-colonial indigenous education in Tanzania was a combined system of both informal and nonformal education, which encompassed a variety of different learning and teaching methods. Informal education refers to non-structuralized education in which teaching and learning is either "incidental" (not consciously performed either by instructor or student) or "informal" in the sense that either the instructor or student is conscious of an intention to teach or learn, but one of the parties involved are not aware of this intention (Hamadache, 1991). Informal education is responsible for a large majority of all knowledge that is acquired or spread throughout an individual's life, but it had a particularly significant role in African indigenous education because of its reliance upon observation, imitation, and emulation as strategies of learning, strategies which are powerfully reflected in indigenous education.

Nonformal education[1] refers to all instruction and learning that is not performed within organized institutions or structuralized systems, but is inclusive of "all forms of instruction that the teacher and learner consciously promote, [in that] the 'learning situation' [is] being sought by both parties," outside of formal, institutionalized learning (Hamadache, 1991, p. 113). Despite its existence in a non-structuralized or formal setting, nonformal education still includes organized and purposeful learning and teaching activities and lessons, and it is intended to accomplish predetermined learning objectives for a specific group of people (Hamadache, 1991).

[1] The term nonformal education has many implications and definitions in contemporary discourse on education that refer specifically to its relationship within formal educational systems and nonformal education programs. However, for the purposes of this paper's discussion about African indigenous education in a pre-colonial context the term nonformal is used to describe the non-structuralized nature and lack of formal educational institutions within indigenous educational systems as well as the methods associated with nonformaleducation.

As a combined system of informal and nonformal education, African indigenous education utilized and merged concepts and methods from both categories, and in practice the distinction between the two types of education is not always clearly outlined, although the theoretical definitions remain useful to achieving an understanding of indigenous education. Therefore, indigenous education encompasses both conscious and unconscious forms of instruction: that which is taught and/or learned deliberately (with the intention of imparting a lesson or giving knowledge) and that which is taught and/or learned without awareness of the act (teaching and learning that is intuitive, but without calculation) (Erny, 1981), although it is important to note that this distinction in not always clear in practice.

In many societies, parents served as the primary educators and were responsible for the majority of their child's education. In African indigenous education, as in many other societies, the mother was responsible for the most important parts of her child's education, particularly during a child's earliest years. As the child matured, educational responsibilities were shifted to immediate and extended family members, from whom the child was expected to learn societal and behavior rules (A. Babs Fafunwa & Aisiku, 1982). However, the entire community ultimately took part in the educational and learning process, and the family's closest relatives, such as the parents' siblings and the grandparents, also had important roles and responsibilities in teaching the child (Zanolli, 1971). Fafunwa and Aisiku(1982) describe this as "global" education, in which each person and social institution within the community ultimately contributes to the education of each child, both through the inculcation of social norms and through lessons in production and practical work.

The "participatory education" method is a defining feature of indigenous education (A. Babs Fafunwa & Aisiku, 1982). Children learned primarily through the observation and

simulation of their parents and other adults in the community; by observing others' actions, behaviors, and language in various situations, children learned the basic rules of interaction and societal norms. Verbal instruction as a method of teaching was used both to supplement participatory education or in circumstances where observation and imitation were either inappropriate methods or the student was having difficulty in understanding a particular lesson (Zanolli, 1971).

Many types of specialized learning or skills were both taught and learned with formalized rituals and ceremonies, and both the learner and the teacher approached this transmittance of skills and knowledge with serious intent and deliberation. Apprenticeships, initiation ceremonies, and secret societies/organizations were all methods of acquiring this training and of transmitting knowledge from one generation to the next. However, particularly within highly specialized or ritualized skills and professions, knowledge was shared only with those individuals considered either by birth or some other criteria to belong to privileged inner circle that had hereditary or inherent rights to that knowledge. Preventing certain knowledge or skills sets from being accessible to the larger population allowed certain groups or lineages to protect the power and/or advantages that knowledge conferred (Erny, 1981).

2.1.2 Socialization in indigenous education

The methods described above enabled African indigenous education to aid in the social development of the student in the context of the inculcation of socially desirable values and behaviors. The social objectives of indigenous education were designed to provide benefits for the larger society, through the training of its individual members, as well as to promote the continuation of cultural practices and tradition. Zanolli(1971) identifies four aspects that were

central to indigenous education, all of which focus on social behaviors: 1) good manners, 2) good character, 3) obedience, and 4) respect, especially for elders and superiors. Informal education was responsible for developing and enforcing these characteristics within a child from birth and ensuring their endurance throughout adulthood. While the specific characteristics, values and behaviors that were encouraged and taught were subjective to each society, the materials for learning and indoctrination were similar: stories, histories, riddles, and proverbs; songs, dancing, and drumming; attendance of ceremonial and celebratory events; adult expressions of approval and disapproval; initiations; and cultural practices and traditions, among many others (A. Babs Fafunwa & Aisiku, 1982).

2.1.3 Skills and "practical education" in indigenous education

Indigenous education also ensured that individuals were taught important skills and knowledge that enabled them to provide for their basic needs and ensured their economic success. This included education on agriculture (knowledge, techniques, etc.), other types of food production (fishing, animal husbandry, etc.), various trades and crafts, and certain professions (religious, medicinal, government, military, and leadership roles). This education was learned in a variety of ways, from accompanying and assisting parents and relatives who had this knowledge to apprenticeships, initiation ceremonies and preparations, and secret societies (A. Babs Fafunwa & Aisiku, 1982).

The types of knowledge and skills that an individual would acquire was based upon many different factors, stemming from the specific physical, social, and spiritual environments in which the educational process took place. However, in the majority of societies, "pre-colonial education… was gender-based, with boys and girls receiving the kind of education that enabled

them to fulfil masculine and feminine responsibilities respectively" (Adeyemi & Adeyinka, 2003, p. 432). This was an important part of preparing individuals for their specific roles within society and preserving cultural and societal traditions and beliefs (Adeyemi & Adeyinka, 2003).

2.1.4 Indigenous education in Tanzania

Indigenous education in Tanzania encompassed all of these aspects of African indigenous education. As stated by Julius Nyerere, students in pre-colonial times "learned by living and doing" (Nyerere, 1968). Students learned how to live in their immediate environment, and possessed knowledge about their surroundings, their survival, and their history through discovery, observation, and listening. Societal values were transferred and productive work and skills were learned through this educational system, and every member of society was responsible for sharing and teaching their knowledge. In this way, education became "more directly relevant to the society in which the child was growing up" (Nyerere, 1968).

Although this chapter has focused on pre-colonial education in Tanzanian, this is not meant to imply that indigenous education disappeared with the introduction of the colonial education systems or no longer exists in modern times. Indigenous education still plays an extremely important role in Tanzanian life today, as it is still a primary source of education and knowledge for students. From a young age, children learn appropriate behavior from their parents and their assimilation within society is dependent upon this education. Zanolli(1971) explored the role that indigenous education continues to have within the context of a formal education environment, and found that a significant number of students believed that their parents had taught them the most in life, over their formal schooling. This indicates that

indigenous education and the societal and productive skills taught within it are still considered to be of a greater value to many students than the lessons and skills taught within formal education.

2.1.5 Relevance inherent?

The evaluation of an educational system should aim to examine "the extent to which it is meeting the needs of a particular society at any given time" (A. Babs Fafunwa & Aisiku, 1982, p. 11). While it is not possible to directly measure the success of educational goals, methods, and outcomes in pre-colonial Africa, it can be determined that indigenous education was designed and adapted to serve the immediate purposes of the society that implemented it. Furthermore, its long-standing history and memory within African societies, and its continued, although altered, presence today, indicates that it met educational needs satisfactorily. The participatory focus within indigenous education and its close ties to daily life and activities effectively guaranteed a large degree of "relevance" (in the context of both social and economic survival) to the students receiving the education.

Although the framework and models used in this paper are meant for analysis of formal educational systems, pre-colonial education in Tanzania seemed to be most closely related to the vocational education approach, in which training, hands-on learning, and observation is an important part of preparing students for future occupations in the community through acquiring skills and experience. However, pre-colonial education also performed the important additional task of socialization, which prepared students for life within a community beyond economic considerations. As noted by Adeyemi and Adeyinka (2003), this socialization was "perhaps one of the greatest attributes of indigenous education as opposed to Western education which tended to alienate young Africans from their cultural heritage" (p. 432). Although this paper focuses on

the concept of relevant education after Tanzanian independence, it is important to recognize the many benefits of pre-colonial education that were lost after the transition to the western model of formal education, which included but was not limited to the many "relevant" aspects of an education that was conducted within a community's everyday life and by community members to prepare students for life within that community economically, socially, and culturally. Because of these benefits, many have called for a modern "merger" of indigenous education with the western model in order to achieve a more effective and suitable educational system. The educational history and heritage of Tanzania has important implications for all of the educational systems and developments that followed it, and continue to influence educational philosophy and policymaking today.

2.2 INTRODUCTION OF WESTERN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS AND COLONIAL EDUCATION: RELEVANT TO WHOM?

Western educational systems and the western concept of "formal" education and schools were gradually introduced in Tanzania during the 1840s, beginning with Christian missionary schools, and expanded rapidly and irreversibly with colonization. The western educational models that were introduced within Tanzania invariably served the purposes of those who sought to impose them, whether for religious or political motives. Yet these educational systems set important precedents for education in Tanzania that have had lasting impacts upon the educational system well beyond independence and into the present. Understanding the concept of relevance within the context of the colonial educational system is critical to identifying the transformation of relevant education in the post-independence time period.

2.2.1 Early mission schools and German colonial educational system

Westernized education models began to be introduced into Tanzania around the 1840s, in the form of Christian missionary schools which sought to inculcate western and Christian value systems into the population. The first western school in Tanzania was established by a missionary group in Bagamoyo for former slaves, although the education provided by the school consisted almost entirely of so-called productive work and manual labor (D. Komba & Temu, 1996). After 1885, when the Tanzanian territory became a German protectorate within German East Africa, missionary schools received support from the German administration and were able to further expand across the territory. With colonial support, the objectives of missionary education changed from an almost exclusive focus on religious education and conversion to include more traditionally western academic subjects. The educational system's focus was overwhelmingly directed toward primary level education, with access to higher education beyond primary school almost nonexistent, and most of the schools used indigenous languages as the medium of instruction (Zanolli, 1971). German educational policy had an emphasis on vocational education and practical work for African students, and favored the development of technical schools and vocational training for the wider population, rather than a purely academic education, which was restricted to a limited few (D. Komba & Temu, 1996).

Although their direct involvement remained limited, the German administration also began to establish its own government schools within the colony in the 1890s. The establishment of these schools and the provision of westernized education to the population served the German colonizers' interests by fulfilling the administration's "growing needs for middle layers of administrative personnel… and for technical personnel" from the indigenous

population (Buchert, 1994, p. 15). However, during and after WWI, almost all support to schools was cut off and the already limited educational system collapsed (Zanolli, 1971).

2.2.2 British Administration & Education for Adaptation

After WWI, the Tanzanian territory became the British colony of Tanganyika through a 1922 League of Nations Mandate. Under British rule, the educational system was centralized and directed by the main administration, a practice which continued to persist after independence until the present. The appointed Governor of Tanganyika was responsible for organizing and supervising schools and educational bodies and creating and implementing national educational policies, while allowing for input in the policy-making process from certain key interest groups such as missionary organizations and the bodies of 'Native Authorities" who were appointed within the indigenous communities (Buchert, 1994). The educational system under the British administration was funded through taxation and was characterized by a policy of racial segregation, leading to tremendous inequalities between schools for black Africans and European or Indian schools, particularly in terms of funding. As under the German administration, the focus of the educational system continued to be at the primary school level, with little opportunities for further education. As part of its policy of 'indirect rule,' the British administration approached colonial education with the intent to inculcate Western values and especially economic principles within the population in an attempt to make Tanganyika more suitable for British economic system and promote economic success. This was done through the introduction of an 'adapted' version of the British educational system that was designed to retain so-called traditional values within the indigenous population that were deemed useful by the colonists, while at the same time introducing certain selected Western principles (Buchert, 1994).

Prior reports by the Phelps-Stokes Commission in the 1920s heavily influenced the development of British educational policies for its colonies in Africa. These reports were the first to mention the necessity of an 'adapted' education which was designed to "develop the community as a whole by improving the general standard of living of the population through a community-oriented school system" by focusing on education to improve health, living conditions, and effective use of local resources (Bude, 1983, p. 341). The suggestions made by the commission were based broadly upon an education prototype already implemented in the Southern United States regions for African Americans after the abolishment of slavery. These policies were also intended to improve living standards and provide education for a large and previously uneducated population by focusing on skills and vocational instruction that was considered suitable for rural black communities in the United States (Bude, 1983). Drawing on these policies and the Phelps-Stokes Commission reports, the British administration's Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education issued its primary educational policy, called the Education for Adaptation, which was introduced in 1925 in the "Education Policy in British Tropical Africa" document and updated in a 1935 memorandum (Buchert, 1994).

Education for Adaptation was intended to facilitate economic and social development in Tanzania, particularly in rural areas, through the introduction of western education and values, while simultaneously 'preserving' indigenous traditions and lifestyles within the population. The policy was stated to be based upon "three principal didactic elements of an orientation towards the environment, work and the community" (Bude, 1983, p. 343). This was to be achieved through curricula with a strong focus on vocational and agricultural education in schools as a means to develop and improve rural economic conditions, in combination with programs concentrating on health and hygiene habits (Bude, 1983). For this latter educational goal, there

was a strong focus on women's education as the best means to improve community health while remaining within the context of the traditional female role in society, therefore designating women's education as a reinforcement of their societal subordination to men, and viewing it as useful only in the context of societal improvement rather than as a means to gain independence or power. Because of the inherent biases and restrictions inevitably placed upon the students who received it, Education for Adaption, according to Buchert, was essentially a way to relegate students to their "likely place in the occupational structure and reinforced the traditional female reproductive role" (1994, p. 18). The educational system inexorably directed students toward manual and vocational occupations in rural areas, without concern for academic or personal development on behalf of the student or providing further opportunities.

The British administration's goals were to reduce rural migration to urban areas and stimulate rural development through improved agricultural practices, both of which they hoped to achieve through the schools. Education for Adaptation policies' focus on practice- and environment-oriented education also had many practical components and considerations, in that the use of local resources and languages made the policies more feasible and cost-efficient to implement, and the vocational and agricultural practice and training conducted at the schools lessened schools costs and contributed to school funding. In reality, this education reinforced the type of educational practices already in place at many missionary schools out of necessity, and often this type of manual labor and so-called 'skill-building' or 'practical' activities often made up the majority of students' time in school. However, the policies' emphasis on practical education quickly became unpopular with almost all participants in the educational system (teachers, students, and parents) after it was introduced under the British administration. This was due in part to a lack of teacher training and funding for the new curricula, leaving teachers

unable to properly understand or teach advanced agricultural techniques or concepts about work ethics and values (Bude, 1983). Furthermore, Education for Adaptation was met with strong resistance from students and parents. While colonial education was initially regarded with avoidance and resistance from the indigenous population, it ultimately became identified as a pathway to social mobility and increased status (Buchert, 1994). Education for Adaptation attempted to subvert these traditionally expected opportunities earned through education with its rural-specific vocational curriculum. However, students and parents in these areas accurately identified the inherent limitations of such an education, and feared the ensuing equality gaps in education and the continued exploitation of rural populations (Bude, 1983). Furthermore, the colonial educational policies that Tanzania experienced were designed and implemented in such a way that they "reinforced the negative attitudes among Africans toward manual labour in educational settings and even to industrial education" (D. Komba & Temu, 1996, p. 65), a negative association that would have a long-term impact on Tanzanians' perceptions of vocational education and policies.

In 1947, after WWII and declared intentions for Tanganyika's independence, the British administration introduced a modified policy that placed greater emphasis on general education than the previous policies, with the intent to prepare the country for independent governance (Zanolli, 1971). Referred to as "Education for Modernisation," the new policy moved away from a sole focus upon vocational education and training in agricultural contexts and attempted to speed up economic industrialization and provide for the development of a class of "educated elites" who would be responsible for governing the country after independence (Buchert, 1994). The new policy approach also introduced a new focus of "citizenship" into basic education curricula which was intended to familiarize students with the duties and responsibilities of

nationhood and citizenship (as defined by the British colonial administration) and also to inculcate and strengthen sentiments of national unity and patriotism. Therefore, the policy reforms included the introduction of programs and courses within the national curriculum that were intended to promote a national identity and awareness (Zanoli, 1971). There was also a greater promotion of secondary and higher education among students which was seen as necessary in order for Tanzania to achieve self-governance. Great attention was paid to the "manpower needs" of the soon to be independent country, and fulfillment of certain deficient "manpower" positions, particularly within professional and industrial careers, became a critical concern. In response, government attempted to address this "manpower problem" through the educational system in the form of "manpower planning" and vocational education, a practice that was largely ineffective but nevertheless continued into the new independent government administrations (Buchert, 1994).

However, a strong focus on agricultural education and vocational training remained, and in reality little changed within the educational system; to a large degree, Education for Modernisation was a continuation of the Education for Adaptation policy with only minor changes and reforms attempted. As with the previous Education for Adaptation policy approach, the attempt to use the schools and educational system to directly instill new values to serve political and economic interests was unsuccessful. The curriculum and the schools proved to be relatively ineffective at building national identity and, after the 1947 reforms, racial and gender inequalities worsened. The educational system as a whole continued to exclude a majority of the Tanganyika population, despite the widespread availability of primary education, and continued to indirectly promote attitudes toward education as a route to societal and economic advancement (Zanolli, 1971).

2.2.3 Failure of British colonial educational policies

The failure of the British educational policies concept stemmed from several critical problems in the overall structure of the policy. First, the British administration attempted to use the educational system and primary schools as solutions to solve much larger social problems and as a method of changing attitudes within the population. This was largely and unsurprisingly unsuccessful, and the role and potential impact of the schools were severely "overestimated in the adaptation concept." As a relatively new institution within Africa, schools were typically unable to change or even affect people's behaviors, especially because of their limited outreach potential; furthermore, the school was expected to take on a role of social transformation that it never had even in the western countries from where it was imported(Bude, 1983, p. 351). This was particularly true in the attempted reform surrounding attitudes about agricultural and manual labor. As noted by Bude(1983):

> "Indifference to or rejection of manual labor being attributed to the purely academic knowledge provided in most schools, it was believed that concentration on practical subjects such as agriculture and the crafts could change the attitude of the African in this respect. The obvious economic considerations underlying this negative attitude were overlooked, just as was the general abuse of the practical work carried out in the schools, which itself served to strengthen the African's attitude of rejection" (p. 351)

This was in keeping with the general paternalistic approach that Education for Adaptation adopted, one which almost entirely excluded African participation and which resulted in a lack of consideration for or recognition of the real needs of the Tanganyika population. It was also carried out in a context of racial segregation and inequality, which reinforced African

perceptions about the inferiority of the education they were receiving in comparison to foreigners (D. Komba & Temu, 1996). This was also linked to the second major problem with the Education for Adaptation approach: it was never created with the intent to achieve equality for the African population in relation to the white colonists. Instead, the educational policies were only working within a system of segregation and social and economic inequality, a reality which was indicated by the colonists and foreign settlers' enthusiastic support for Education for Adaptation. Therefore, from a colonial perspective, "tying down Africans by means of a primarily agricultural and craft education was viewed not as a means of improving the material situation in rural areas but as the expression of a racist prejudice"(Bude, 1983, p. 352), a situation that made the consequent failure of such policies rather predictable. The third and most intrinsic cause of the failure of the Education for Adaptation concept was that it was not based upon the realities of life in Tanganyika, but was rather designed on common misconceptions and idealistic imaginings about rural life and traditional values. The colonial view of African society as homogenized and unchanging, combined with these naïve visions of indigenous Africa, led to policies that, instead of being tailored to the Tanzanian environment, were instead based on an imagined and nonexistent 'reality'.

Despite its failure and unpopularity, Education for Adaptation set an important historical precedent for the future of national education in Tanzania, both in its attempted adaption of the western school system as well as its introduction of vocational training and production within a general curriculum. In fact, it is in part because of the unpopularity of the program and the associations formed with vocational training and education during the Education for Adaptation period that would affect the design of later educational policies and also the responses that these

policies evoked, particularly after Tanzania achieved independence in 1961 and large-scale attempts to reform the educational system began.

3.0 FROM EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE TO THE EDUCATION AND TRAINING POLICY

With independence, Tanzania inherited a foreign but ingrained educational system, based upon western models of education with a heavy focus on traditional academic subjects and an extensive examination system. Because the imported system primarily served colonial interests and was unsuitable for the circumstances of the wider population, many attempts were made to reform and restructure the educational system to make it benefit Tanzanian citizens. Similar efforts took place across many newly independent African countries, with efforts focused on the "Africanization" of education and schools to improve relevance and encourage economic and social development.

3.1 TANZANIAN INDEPENDENCE, PRESIDENT JULIUS NYERERE, AND THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

After independence in 1961, educational reforms began almost immediately and initially made definitive moves away from the prior colonial education policies. With the introduction of the 1962 Education Ordinance by the Ministry of Education, a strong focus was placed on education as a solution the manpower problem within Tanzania, characterized by a national shortage of highly trained and specialized personnel to fulfill the top technical and specialized professions in

Tanzania. Education was viewed as critical in meeting these manpower and personnel needs, and also in establishing Tanzania as an independent and industrial country that was "self-reliant," in that positions at the government and professional levels would be filled by Tanzanian citizens, rather than foreigners. Therefore, the new Education Ordinance encouraged all primary schools to extend the length of their programs to eight years and also emphasized the importance of increasing the availability of secondary education to students (Dolan, 1970).

This approach was in many respects opposite of the colonial educational policies, which instead emphasized the need for a limited education for the majority of students with more targeted programs to provide very basic skills in a shorter period of schooling. General 'academic' education was considered as both unnecessary and undesirable for the majority of African students, who should instead stay in their local communities to utilize the training and skills they had acquired through the vocational school programs. The independent government's deliberate shift away from British colonial education policy was in part driven by the demands of Tanzanian students and parents, who recognized education as a path to social and economic advancement. Parents and students learned to resent the colonial policies that forced vocational training and manual labor on students as part of school curriculum in rural areas while providing a traditional general education to white and Indian students (Dolan, 1970). As part of the call for educational equality that included the racial and religious integration of the previously segregated educational system in 1962, students and parents also demanded equality within the curriculum and access to economic advancement through education (D. Komba & Temu, 1996).

However, the move toward a more general education approach for the wider population was short-lived, as the new government began to focus on the importance of vocationalized education in the context of rural development and the philosophy of Ujamaa. In 1967, President

Julius Nyerere delivered the Arusha Declaration and announced along with it his new educational policy titled 'Education for Self-Reliance' (ESR). Ujamaa, or "African Socialism," was the broad economic, political, and social reform that was introduced by Nyerere as an attempt to return Tanzania to its traditional past, which involved a history of natural socialism and an emphasis on egalitarian societies. The goal of Ujamaa was to develop a classless system based on equality and a socialist mixed economy, with a focus on rural development and national achievement (Nyerere, 1968).

Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) fit within the Ujamaa policy as a key instrument in building the new Tanzania envisioned within the Arusha Declaration, as schools were given the mission to prepare students to become exemplary and "self-reliant" citizens of the new society. To Nyerere, education was a "method of preparing citizens for service to other citizens in order that all the citizens together might engage in the task of building a self-reliant Tanzania," and should not be viewed as a route to improvement of an individual's life, but rather in the context of the entire country's improvement (Dolan, 1970, pp. 155-156). However, this view of education for societal or community benefit was in direct conflict with previous attitudes toward education as an opportunity for individual advancement and economic gain. This focus on national and rural development and vocationalized education was therefore end of the short-lived shift toward a more general education approach after independence. One of the key theoretical adjustments in the new policy was the shift from an emphasis on supplying manpower needs at the higher tiers of the economy, such as professional or government positions, to an emphasis on rural development and skill training at the lower levels of society. This shift was in line with the philosophy of Ujamaa, and was an attempt to implement an economic strategy of bottom-driven rural development in contrast to top-led industrial development.

3.1.1 The Education for Self-Reliance document and policy

President Julius Nyerere's ESR policy was based upon the perceived inappropriateness of a western model of education that was imported by colonists along with a foreign curriculum. Along this line of thought, because Africa's history, culture, and position differs from that of the western countries, so too do the goals and needs of the educational system. ESR was a part of the broader Ujamaa reforms that attempted to address these inadequacies and failures of the colonial educational system that was still in use in independent Tanzania. As such, the new policy was to teach students the values of equality and respect, the importance sharing of resources, and a belief in the philosophy of hard work by every citizen without exploitation; all ideals that Nyerere felt the colonial educational system lacked.

Rather than simply being inadequate for Tanzania, Nyerere saw the colonial education model as a system that was introduced with the intent to inculcate colonial values and force cultural change. The main shortcomings of the old educational system included the elitist exclusivity of education, the tendency of education to separate and alienate students from their local communities, a lack of value in an education in which only knowledge is acquired with no productive use, and an inherent disregard for nonformal and/or pre-colonial educational methods and values. The ESR policy was intended to redress these problems through the reorganization of the educational system, mainly by changing curriculum content, adjusting the entry age of school children, and the decentralization of educational institutions. However, in order for the new reforms to be successful, perceptions and attitudes would also need to be adjusted, not just administrative changes (Nyerere, 1968).

The ultimate goal of ESR was for Tanzania and its citizens to achieve "self-reliance" or freedom from dependence on outside resources. In the context of the state, this meant a strong

self-sustaining economy and political system that was free from dependence on foreign aid or the influence of other governments. For the individual students, self-reliance meant an ability to sustain one's own living without relying on employers or the state; in other words, an ability for entrepreneurship. Education was viewed as having an important role in the achievement of self-reliance at both the state and individual level by inculcating students with the ideals, values, and skills necessary to be both good citizens and good entrepreneurs.

ESR was primarily focused on rural agriculture and development, both because of the influence of the Ujamaa philosophy and also because Nyerere believed that rural development must first lead industrial development. Because of the predominantly undeveloped and rural population in Tanzania, 'self-reliance' and its goal of fostering entrepreneurship became synonymous with agricultural employment and farming, along with a few other crafts and trades deemed appropriate for rural life. As a result, it was decided that the education received by students should prepare them for this type of agricultural work and life in a rural community. Thus the main policy thrust of ESR was to develop a curriculum that would include so-called 'practical' education elements that would prepare students for work through vocational education and skill acquisition through participatory productive work by the students, primarily in agriculture (Nyerere, 1968). Vocational education within the educational system came to include agriculture, crafts, post-primary technical centers, pre-vocational secondary schools, and technical colleges. Within primary and secondary schools, vocational education came to be primarily identified with vaguely-defined 'Self-Reliance Projects' which were generally extracurricular and included agricultural work, often on school 'farms', as well as other productive activities such as crafts, shop-keeping, and livestock (D. Komba & Temu, 1996).

According to ESR, self-reliance would be fostered through the development of these so-called practical skills, as well as critical thinking skills, which would enable students to become successful entrepreneurs in agriculture and other rural occupations in their home communities. ESR also heavily emphasized an education that would teach students cooperation and the necessity of contributing to the collective good of society, rather than focusing on individual advancement. It was intended that students would exit the educational system with the values and attitudes necessary to make Ujamaa successful, as well as instill within students an awareness of the duties and responsibilities of Tanzanian citizenship (Nyerere, 1968).

In order to achieve these numerous and diverse goals, ESR policy called for a primary school education that would be comprehensive and self-complete at seven years of schooling, providing students with the skills necessary to live and work in their local environments. Additionally, the age of entry into primary school was increased to seven years, so that students would be closer to maturity at the time of graduation from primary school and would be able to use the skills and knowledge learned sooner. ESR's primary school reform was a response to the reality that the majority of students in the educational system would not continue on to secondary or higher education, and therefore the primary education that they received must be comprehensive and sufficient by itself (Nyerere, 1968). This changed the educational system to one that included seven years of primary schooling, four years at the secondary level, two years of advanced secondary education, and between three to five years of tertiary or university education (D. Komba & Temu, 1996).

ESR also called for the reduced role of examinations within the educational system. Stemming from the western model, examinations were the only recognized tool of evaluation for students in Tanzania and were the sole determinants in the passing or failing of students as well

as succession to higher levels. ESR rejected examinations as inadequate measures for gauging the entirety of a student's knowledge and skills, particularly those relating to critical thinking or vocational skills (Nyerere, 1968).

A final feature of the ESR-reformed school was its intended design as a 'self-reliant' community within itself. This was seen as achieving several goals of ESR and Ujamaa simultaneously. One, productive work would teach students self-reliant skills and be a core component of practical work in schools. Two, productive work would further integrate the school with its community and teach students values about responsibility and contributing to their communities. Three, productive work would produce both food and income for schools, as well reduce outside labor and upkeep costs associated with running a school, which would lessen the financial contributions of both the surrounding community and the government.

After the Arusha Declaration and Nyerere's introduction of ESR, the policy was enthusiastically adopted by the Ministry of Education, which held a National Education Conference at the University of Dar es Salaam in April 1967 to discuss the policy reforms and implementation. At the National Education Conference, the concept of 'Self-Reliance Projects' (SRP) was developed, which were mostly visualized as student-run school farm projects, and loose guidelines created that set the hours per week students were to spend working on the SRPs: 1-3 hours for primary school students and 10 hours for secondary school students. After the conference, no clear policy was set forth. Rather, the Ministry of Education communicated new reforms and policy decisions through intermittent 'circulars' to schools, which among other things required every school to form a 'self-reliance committee' dedicated to managing ESR and SRP related objectives. Throughout its duration, ESR continued to lack a clear policy or outlined strategy for implementation. It was assumed the Nyerere's ESR document would serve

as the national education policy, and as a result a truly comprehensive national policy was never formed. Instead the Ministry of Education attempted to implement the ESR 'policy' as based upon the vision of Nyerere, a strategy that was inevitably vulnerable to varied and counterproductive interpretation. (D. Komba & Temu, 1996).

3.1.2 Reforms and modifications to ESR

After the initial introduction of the 1967 ESR policy, a number of Education Acts and other supporting policy documents were released by the government to both formalize and solidify ESR objectives as well as to make modifications to the original ESR implementations as deemed necessary (*Education and Training Policy*, 1995). One of the largest reform attempts of ESR was the 1974 Musoma Resolution, which was produced after a government conference held to assess the ESR policy. Dismayed by this assessment, which indicated that many of the important attitudinal and social objectives of ESR were not being successfully executed, the Musoma Resolution put forth three strategy reforms that were intended to correct the prominent problems of ESR. These were the universalization of primary education (UPE), reformed requirements for university admission, and a stronger emphasis on the integration of vocational training with academics to better prepare graduates at all levels for both employment and further education (Block, 1984, p. 107). The Musoma Resolution was reiteration of ESR values and philosophy and its major reforms were designed to increase the prevalence of ESR activities and the vocational element in "diversified" secondary education. It also undertook examination reform in an attempt to reduce the importance of the traditional academic examinations that were based upon the western models. In 1976, the National Examinations Council of Tanzania, acting on

Musoma Resolution 1974, established a new examination system that was intended to assess both academic knowledge and attitudes to work (Nkonoki, 1978).

However, the addition of new subjects led to overcrowded curriculums and educational quality continued to deteriorate due to both resource-based problems and issues with teacher training and pedagogy (Buchert, 1994). Furthermore, attempts by the schools to change student attitudes toward manual labor and national responsibility were unlikely to be successful, and were often even negatively reinforced by practices such as using the threat of agricultural or manual labor as disciplinary measures in schools and the installment of mandatory national service (Nkonoki, 1978).

3.1.3 Challenges, shortcomings, and failures of ESR

Without a central policy or nationally-standardized implementation, ESR became characterized by a severe lack of organization and poorly synchronized implementation and activities, which made it difficult to determine which strategies were being implemented or whether they were effective. This deficiency undoubtedly impeded the progress of ESR and the attainment its goals, although it is unclear to what degree it is responsible for ESR's eventual abandonment (D. Komba & Temu, 1996).

Several key areas in which ESR failed to meet its objectives can be clearly identified. While the development of critical thinking skills is mentioned as an important part of education, neither the ESR document nor later policy directives gave a clear indication of how to foster these skills or methods for teaching them. Furthermore, although examination reform was listed as a goal of ESR, there was little guidance for how to make these changes or what alternative forms of evaluation were to be utilized; an attempt by the Musoma Resolution to introduce

examination reform through substituting “assessments” of student character and ESR involvement was unsuccessful due to the relative unimportance of these assessments and a failure to reduce the weighted importance of national academic examinations that ultimately determined academic success (Cooksey, 1986).

Perhaps ESR’s largest failing was in changing the attitudes of students toward agricultural or manual labor, or in instilling the intended values about hard work, community, and responsible citizenship. The ESR policy in fact was often in direct opposition with Tanzanian students and parents’ own desires and goals for education, which not only made it unsuccessful, but also deeply unpopular. There is also doubt about the actual acquisition of useful practical skills for work or the extent to which the school was ever able to be integrated into the community. These shortcomings are attributed mainly to an arrant lack of resources and technology with which to implement the intended curriculum, as well as issues with teacher training and pedagogy, with a “lack of balance between academic and manual work” (Mosha, 1990, p. 63). At its worst, the ESR policy and its implementation not only “resulted in a disastrous reduction in the quality of education and the cognitive capabilities of school-leavers,” but may have also worsened gaps in educational inequality among Tanzanian students (Cooksey, 1986, p. 183).

Ultimately, ESR was an attempt to make education more relevant to the Tanzanian population, at least from a government and policymaker perspective of relevance. Its true potential to improve educational relevance is not able to be clearly ascertained, as, due to a host of challenges, ESR was never able to be successfully implemented or evaluated. The situation remained much the same as it was stated by Nkonoki in 1978: “The concept of self-reliance is still isolated, not integrated, in the totality of the ‘life’ and activities of schools: that is to say,

what is done in classes is not integrated with what goes on outside of classes" (p. 15-16). In many ways, the problems and failures of ESR, as well as the strength of the philosophical rationales and values behind it, had a huge impact upon the changes that took place in the educational system and the eventual formation of the new policy in 1995.

3.2 1995 EDUCATION AND TRAINING POLICY

In the early 1980s the predominance of the original ESR policy began to wane, although it lingered on in many ways until the official creation of the 1995 Education and Training Policy. The ETP policy changes occurred within the context of many wider societal changes, including the effective end of the socialist economic model with the increasing liberalization of the economy in Tanzania. It also corresponded with shifts in development education discourse and interests, as a strong backlash against agriculture and vocational education in primary and secondary institutions developed in the 1980s. This backlash was partly the result of popular research in the field, such as Foster's 1965 "vocational school fallacy" findings and later similar studies, and the barrage of challenges and ineffective results that plagued "vocationalized" policies, but also reflected a shift in international concentration to universal primary education (UPE) as a new paradigm of development education (McGrath, 2010).

These changes in the broader national and international environment are reflected in the changes in policy approaches and focuses in Tanzania. In 1981, a Presidential Commission on Education was established to develop recommendations for the future direction of the educational system (The Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 1995, pp. vi-vii). While the government for the most part continued to reaffirm the philosophy and goals of ESR,

there was a gradual shift in focus to issues about quality and traditional academic subjects, including the recommended development of science and technology education (Buchert, 1994). In 1990, a National Task Force on Education was appointed to evaluate and review the educational system. The recommendations of this Task Force were used to prepare the Ministry of Education and Culture 1995 Education and Training Policy (ETP) document, which remains in use today (*Education and Training Policy*, 1995).

In line with trends in international development education in the 1990s (McGrath, 2010), the ETP policy was created in strict accordance with the MDGs, particularly the achievement of UPE and an emphasis on reducing inequalities. Also in keeping with these trends, the new policy attempted to be more responsive to population demand for secondary education and for a more general education approach to education. The ETP policy (1995) defines education as:

> The process of initiating and preparing man through training, in his environment, to play active roles in society… education makes man aware of his own potentials and responsibility to change and improve his own condition and that of his society; it embodies within it science and technology" (p. viii).

However, significant traces of the ESR philosophy and policy remain with the new ETP policy, which stresses the "relationship between education and development" as being one that encourages the "self-reliance" of Tanzanian citizens (*Education and Training Policy*, 1995, p. ix). This is followed by several brief mentions of the importance of agricultural development, but only within the context of other types of environmental and industrial development as well. Also noticeably lacking from the new ETP policy is the emphasis on student productive work and manual labor in schools as a means of economic contribution by the students. Instead, the focus of the ETP is emphatically upon science and technology education skill development,

which is specifically mentioned within the policy definition of education and further elaborated upon right below the definition (*Education and Training Policy*, 1995).

The 1995 ETP policy is the general national policy guide for formal basic education in Tanzania. There are a multitude of supporting national and sector policies and strategies for the ETP umbrella policy, including different versions of Primary Education Development Plans (PEDPs), Secondary Education Development Plans (SEDPs), and policies for the development of specific subjects, such the Information and Communication Technology (ICT) Policy. Both the PEDPs and the SEDPs also emphasize the provision of technology and science education in primary and secondary schools as of utmost importance to the education and preparation of students (Swarts & Mwiyeria, 2010).

Currently, the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT) is in charge of formal basic education and the current ETP policy documents. The formal basic education system is made up of seven years of primary education, four years of lower secondary education, two years of senior secondary education, and three to five years of tertiary or university education. Schools can be either public "government" schools or private schools (both religious and secular). Kiswahili is the medium of instruction from Standard One to Standard Seven in primary school and English is the medium of instruction beginning in Form One to Form Six in secondary school and all higher education (Swarts & Mwiyeria, 2010).

4.0 WORK-ORIENTED EDUCATION FRAMEWORK

Work orientation in education is a specific approach to preparing students within an educational system to enter the workforce with the appropriate knowledge, skills, and mindsets to be successful and productive employees. While preparation for work is considered as a broader goal of most educational systems, there are widely varying approaches for realizing this goal; in many educational policies work-preparation is viewed as a natural outcome of education rather than an intentional aim. Work-oriented education programs specifically emphasize education's primary responsibility toward work preparation, rather than education as part of a broader preparation for life in general (Hoppers, 1996)

This thesis uses the framework developed by Hoppers (1996) for work-oriented education to illustrate its use within the Tanzanian educational system from 1967 to the present. This section first introduces the concept of work-oriented education and relevant discussions and issues surrounding it, and then presents the work-oriented education framework as described by Hoppers. The next chapter seeks to determine the position of the Tanzanian educational system in the context of this framework.

4.1 OVERVIEW OF WORK-ORIENTED EDUCATION AND PRACTICAL EDUCATION CURRICULUM

Work-oriented education includes the specific objectives, approaches, and programs that an educational system uses to strengthen the connection between schooling and the world of work through the integration of certain knowledge and skills learning targeted to preparing students for productive work within their environment. Practical education curriculum is often a critical component of this. Within work-oriented education, the term "practical education" utilizes a broad definition of a "practical" curriculum, such as Rowell and Prophet's (1990) description:

> one which develops skills which may be applied in the everyday world, especially the world of work. The focus is on the *application* of that learned in school and 'practical' denotes 'utilitarian'. Thus practical skills include specific manual skills *and* mental skills… (p. 18) [emphasis in original]

It is common for a practical curriculum to emphasize the "development of manual or digital dexterity in subjects such as home economics, agriculture, or woodwork" over those of more generalizable practical skills and knowledge, particularly in older programs (Rowell and Prophet, 1990, p. 18). However the important thing is that a practical education curriculum is most basically characterized by an "activity-oriented" approach. This includes both manual "hands-on" as well as mental activities for developing practical knowledge and skills, either within or outside of the regular classroom environment (Rowell & Prophet, 1990, p. 18).

4.1.1 Features of work-oriented education

A defining feature of work-oriented education is its tendency to identify and shape itself around the specific context of the "world of work" for which students are being prepared (at least within the majority of models of work orientation). Through this, work-oriented education attempts to address some the common problems facing workforces in many developing countries, such as educated unemployment, limited modern sector jobs, rural-urban migration, and manpower imbalances (Middleton, et al., 1993).

Since work-oriented education attempts to shape itself around specific work environment for which it is preparing students, the features of any particular work-oriented program is heavily related to the socio-economic situation of a country and schools. In many developing countries, like Tanzania, this has led to a strong emphasis on traditional rural work environments, particularly agriculture and other manual labor occupations, within work-oriented education (D. Komba, 1996). However this association that has developed between work-oriented education and agricultural and rural-oriented vocational training is not necessarily a defining feature of the broader concept of work-oriented education. In fact, particularly recently, the focus of many work-oriented education programs is upon technological or scientific education, many of which are geared toward the industrial or modern sector jobs (Hoppers, 1996).

The above discussion intends to emphasize that the work-oriented education does not promote a specific focus of work orientation, such as agricultural education, despite strong associations that may be formed between the two in certain countries. Rather, work-oriented education is intended to be much broader in its scope of preparing students for work within their own environment, whatever that may be; the focus is provided by the specific environment of the educational system and students. This does mean that the nature of the environment and specific

situation can and does affect which of the work-oriented programs and foci an educational system is likely to adopt.

There are also a couple of concerns and issues surrounding work-oriented education that need to be noted. First, it is important to consider the demands of a work-oriented education and its objectives upon an educational system and whether these demands are realistic or fair. There are a number of concerns about the ability of schools to affect wider societal objectives, which are outside of the realm of the academic western educational model (Hoppers, 1996). Increasingly schools have taken on a wider role and responsibility for societal transformation, but it is not known to what extent schools can actually achieve objectives beyond their traditional academic ones. This issue relates particularly to the ability of schools to form or change attitudes, particularly deep-rooted ones, which is often a goal within work-oriented education programs (D. Komba, 1996). Work-oriented education is based upon the assumption that educational systems and schools are in fact *able* to effectively prepare students for work and achieve objectives related to productive skills, changing relationships between schools and communities, and the transformation of mind-sets. Therefore it is tremendously important to consider the extent of schools' ability in relationship to achieving work-oriented objectives.

A second issue relates to concerns about inbuilt inequalities in the work-oriented education model, especially across the rich-poor and urban-rural divides, which are often congruent with one another. Work-oriented and vocational education is far more likely to be available to economically disadvantaged and rural students than any other population because of their perceived needs and the nature of the rural labor occupations and markets (Evans, 1981). This is done with the intention that these students will be able to improve both their communities and individual standards of living with their training, often with the larger goal being rural

development. Yet a work-oriented approach has the potential to increase the already severe stratification between educational and professional opportunities for students in urban and rural areas. Through “vocational streaming” and a lack of access to resources, poor rural students are restricted in their education and career choices because of the limited nature of the education that they receive, while urban and wealthy students benefit from a more diversified education that allows them greater opportunities and therefore greater freedom of choice (Hoppers, 1996).

4.2 A FRAMEWORK FOR WORK-ORIENTED EDUCATION

Hoppers (1996) constructed for work-oriented education to allow for categorization across a wide variety of objectives, approaches, and programs. Work-oriented education is defined by Hoppers (1996) as:

> the manner in which schools help prepare youngsters for working life ... [through] certain work-oriented subjects, productive work activities, topics in 'academic' subjects, and a variety of skills and attitudes intentionally or unintentionally promoted at school that may have a bearing on the way young people will participate in the economy (19).

In his framework, Hoppers divides the integration of work-oriented education in educational policy into three components: policy objectives for work-oriented education; policy approaches to the operationalization of work-oriented education; and specific work-oriented education programs adopted by a policy. Hoppers (1996) framework also includes discussions about the issues and challenges facing work-oriented education.

4.2.1 Objectives of work-oriented education

Educational policies incorporating work-oriented education have specific objectives that they seek to achieve through the inclusion of "work-orientation" in a curriculum. Because education as a wider societal institution is located within other spheres of a society and has an interactive relationship with its environment, these objectives can be heavily influenced by the broader interests and conditions of that environment. In this context, work-oriented education is considered to be situated among three primary societal "spheres": the economic sphere, the socio-cultural sphere, and the political sphere. Therefore, the policy objectives of work-oriented education often must fit within and seek to fulfill the wider interests of those spheres.

In his framework, Hoppers (1996) identifies the range of policy objectives that are associated with the incorporation of work-oriented education in an educational system. Not every policy that uses work-oriented education will have all of these policy objectives, and some policies' objectives will be more heavily focused within a certain sphere(s) than within others. The objectives identified by Hoppers as work-oriented are depicted in Figure1 below, which also illustrates the societal sphere within whose broader interests they are enclosed (1996, p. 18):

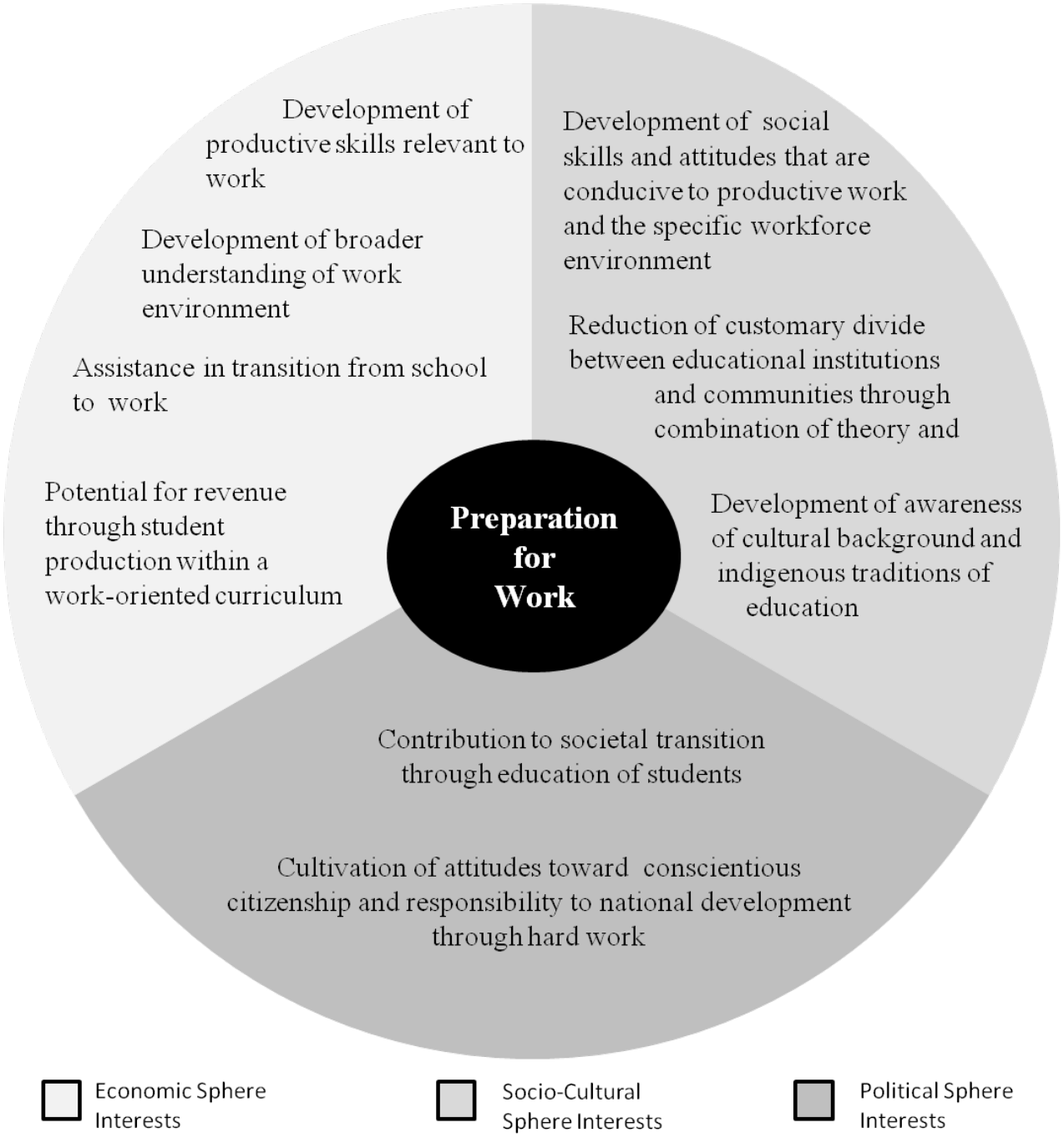

Figure 1. Objectives of Work-Oriented Education

An educational policy's distribution of emphasis among these three spheres can strongly influence the nature of work-oriented objectives and approaches within an educational system, as can other outside factors and motives. Together, the objectives and other outside influences determine what the "focus" of the work-oriented education will be (agricultural, skilled labor, technology, academic, etc). The selected policy objectives and the determined focus of work-oriented education have an interactive role with the development of the policy's approaches to operationalizing work-oriented education (Hoppers, 1996).

4.2.2 Work-oriented education approaches: characteristics and categorization

Different approaches to the operationalization of work-oriented education and the achievement of the defined objectives are organized by Hoppers into four possible categories. An approach's classification among these categories is determined by four identified sets of specific characteristics that position a policy's overall approach to the operationalization of work-oriented education in a particular educational system. The four characteristic sets contain two dichotomous characteristics which can be constructed along a continuum (see Figure 2) to construct "sliding scales" that enable the categorization of particular approaches to work-oriented education (Hoppers (1996).

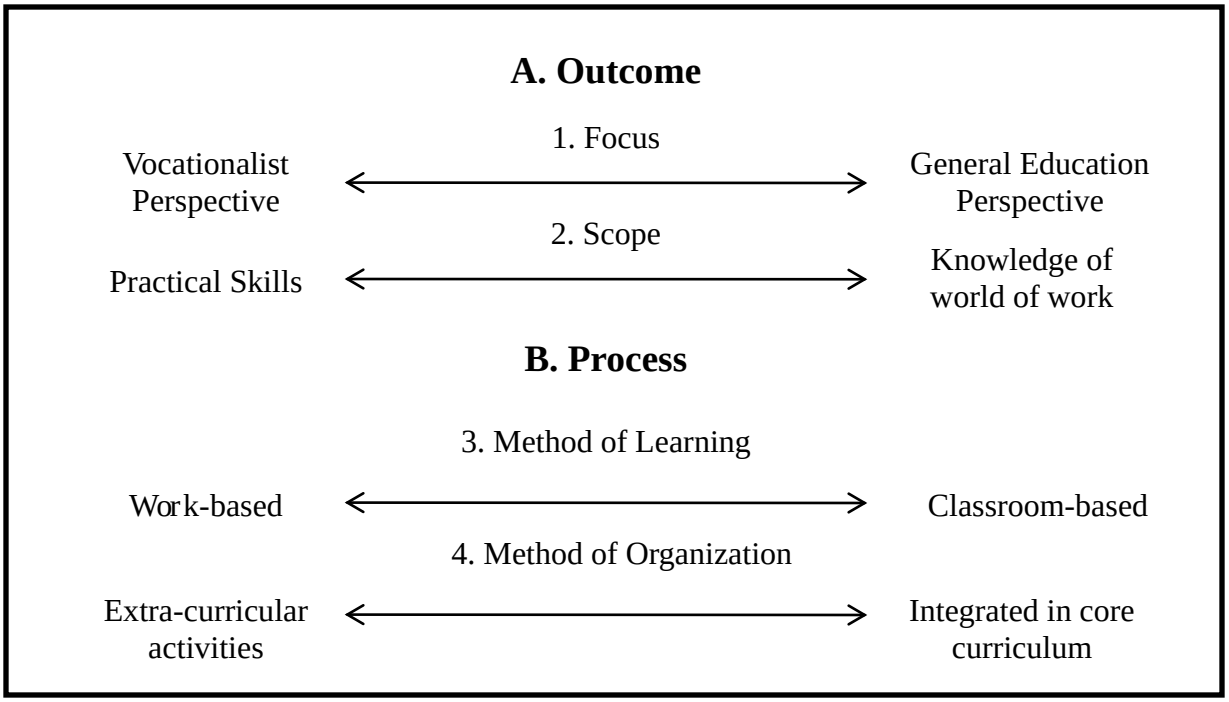

Figure 2. Sliding Scales of Key Characteristics

From**:**

Hoppers, W. (1996). *Searching for Relevance: The Development of Work Orientation in Basic Education* (Vol. 52). Paris: UNESCO: International Institute for Educational Planning, 33.

These four sliding scales are measurements of the characteristics of a particular policy's approach to operationalizing work-oriented education within its educational system. An individual approach's characteristics are generally influenced most heavily by the established objectives of a particular educational system for work-oriented education and the established strategies or methods by which these objectives are to be achieved, decisions that are usually made by government policymakers at the national level. Although a work-oriented approach could theoretically be made up of any mix of these four characteristics, in reality the left-right positions on the scales positively correlate among one another, due to a tendency toward consistency in program approaches.

An approach's location among the first set ("A") of two characteristic scales is related to the desired "outcomes" of work-oriented education in a policy. The first characteristic scale refers to the "focus" of the approach, which is perhaps the most important characteristic in categorizing a work oriented education approach. This sliding scale distinguishes between two divergent perspectives in work-oriented education: a vocationalist perspective and a general education perspective. These perspectives are directly related to the continuum between general education approach – vocational education approach. In work-oriented education, a "narrow" perspective is defined as a vocationalist perspective, which is derived from a vocational education approach to education, and a "broad" perspective is defined as a general education perspective, which is associated with a general education approach. Work-oriented education programs with a primarily vocationalist perspective tend to emphasize on the objectives related to economic interests (listed above). In work-oriented programs of a vocationalist perspective, there is a narrower focus on the direct acquisition of skills and their translation into the world of work and production. Work-oriented education programs with a broader, general education perspective tend to encompass more of the objectives related to all three of the societal spheres. These programs encourage the acquisition of broader knowledge and skills "many of which have only an indirect relevance to work… [and] work orientation is regarded as an integral part of a basic preparation for life" (Hoppers, 1996, p. 21).

The second characteristic scale, "scope," differentiates between approaches with a narrow definition of work-orientation, which emphasizes the direct acquisition of practical skills through education, from approaches with a broad definition of work-orientation, which emphasize a more expansive knowledge and understanding of the work environment (Hoppers, 1996, p. 32).

An approach's position among the second set ("B") of characteristic scales is determined by the "processes" by which the policy intends to implement work-orientation education in curriculum. The third characteristic scale refers to the "methods of learning" that a work-oriented approach can utilize. This varies from a "work-based" approach to learning to a "classroom-based" approach to learning, indicative of the majority of work-oriented education will occur. The fourth characteristic scale refers to the approach's "method of organization" of the curriculum, and the degree to which work-oriented education is incorporated within or outside of the general curriculum. This varies on a continuum from an incorporation of work-oriented education based solely in extra-curricular activities to a full incorporation into the core curriculum (Hoppers, 1996, p. 32).

Categories of Work-Oriented Education Approaches

The four characteristic scales described above are used by Hoppers (1996) to depict four distinct categories of approaches to operationalizing work-orientation education: diversified education approach; work education approach; practical education approach; general education approach.

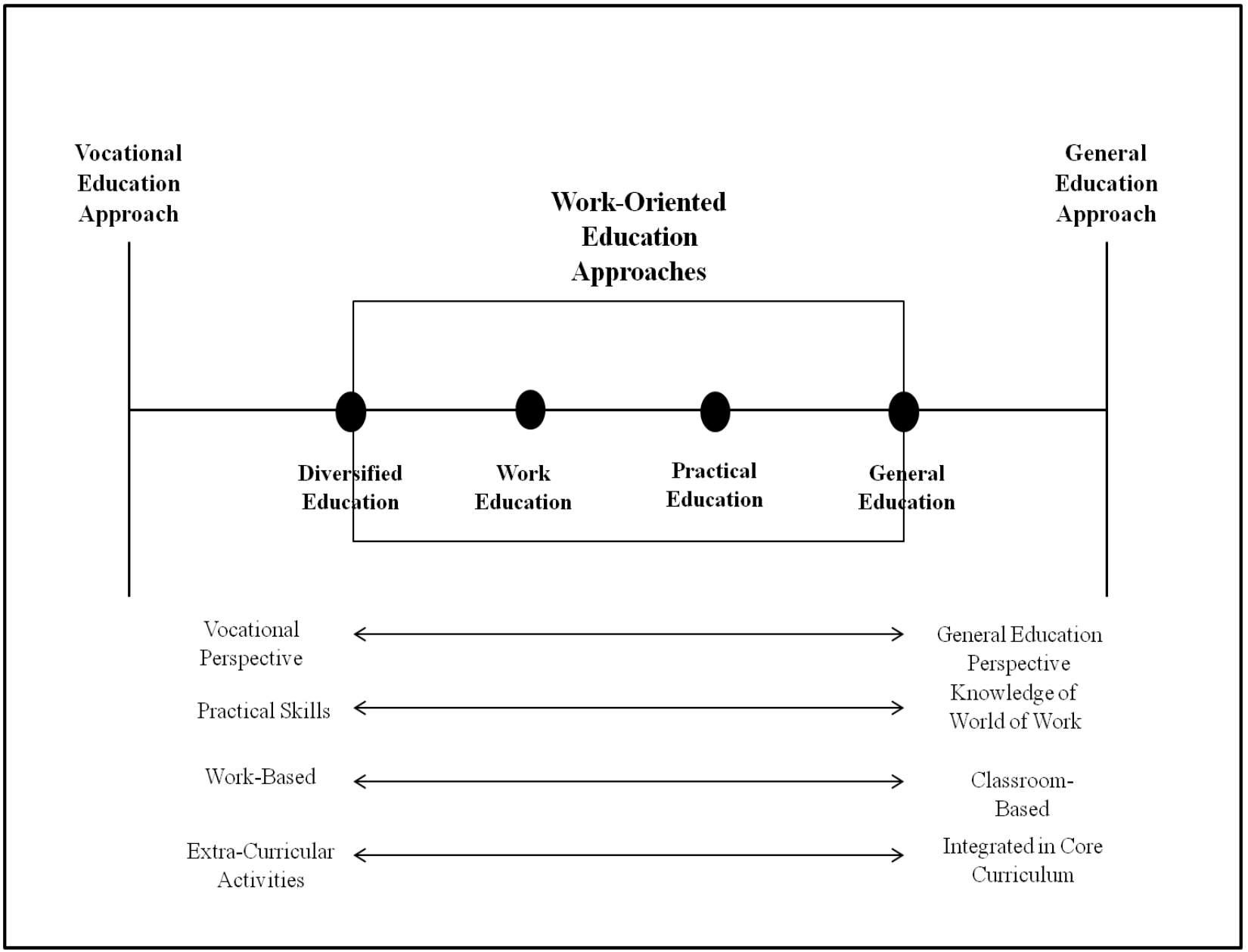

Figure 3. Map of Work-Oriented Approaches with Sliding Scales

The work-oriented education approaches are categorized according to their averaged overall position based upon their positions within the four sliding characteristic scales. These categories should not be viewed as rigid groups; they are "critical points along a continuum leaving many possibilities for in-between positions and overlaps" (Hoppers, 1996, p. 37). A description of each of the four approaches is given by Hoppers (1996, pp. 34-36) in the following manner:

Diversified Education Approach:

… learning takes place through compulsory or optional (pre-) vocational subjects, usually with a practical component. It may spill over into extra-curricular activities or projects. The vocationalist perspective prevails, with a strong emphasis on the development of employable skills, which may be of a technical or general practical nature, and on practical knowledge relevant for entry into the labour market or into self-employment. Within basic or compulsory education cycles, the approach is predominantly pre-vocational in orientation, meaning that they preparation includes basic training in a vocational field anticipating further vocational training before reaching full competency in a trade. Examples are industrial arts, fashion and fabrics, and commerce…

Work Education Approach:

The major characteristic of this approach is that – at least in theory – much attention is given to the experience of a real or simulated work situation. This may be organized as part of the school curriculum or as an extracurricular activity, and it may take place within or outside the school premises. Usually, the work activities are meant to have a direct link to a variety of learning areas, especially science and social studies (as in 'polytechnic education'). It is essential that these are not merely an extension of classroom learning, but that they constitute direct learning experiences for the pupils by being involved in the actual production of complete goods or services. The work element may constitute only brief confrontations with the world of work (as in 'work-experience projects') or it may be an ongoing an integral dimension of the curriculum throughout the education cycle (as in 'education with production' or 'polytechnic education'). This approach is partly used to pursue general education goals such as awareness of production processes, the application of scientific principles or creating positive attitudes towards labour; partly, it serves purposes of vocational orientation as a basis for entry into the labour market. In the cases of 'education with production' and 'polytechnic education,' the work dimension has been regarded as a major vehicle for making education less elitist and more responsive to the needs of personal and socio-economic development.

Practical Education Approach

This approach subscribes to a general education perspective but attempts to improve relevance by giving an explicit practical bias to the curriculum through the introduction of compulsory or optional 'practical subjects'. These can range from agriculture through different crafts to composite subjects such as 'life skills'. The latter tends to combine a variety of non-traditional knowledge and skills elements. Other modern variants are informatics and technology education. The subjects are meant to broaden the range of basic skills in the

curriculum and to help orientate pupils to the nature of the local economy. Nevertheless, there are often pressures to make them more pre-vocational, in which the technical aspects of the subjects receive more attention than the general cognitive ones. While the practical bias may spill over into extracurricular work, the main emphasis is on what can be done within the curriculum. The central location tends to be the classroom, often one that is specially equipped for the purpose. For some subjects, like agriculture or home economics, there may be an extension of activities into the school garden. Unlike in work education programmes, the emphasis on practical work tends to be on the application of classroom theories and the acquisition of a limited range of personal competencies.

General Education Approach

This approach follows a general education perspective of work orientation and does not seek recourse to special subjects. It views work orientation as an essential dimension of a broad-based general education preparing for life, and regards the existing core curriculum as the major foundation for such preparation. Interventions focus on adjustments in content or learning method so as to improve relevance by 'applying' concepts and skills to work situations, and to create opportunities for active involvement of pupils in the learning process. It is hope that this will enhance the acquisition of personal competencies that have a value for later working life and in understanding of broader aspects of the world of work.

4.2.3 Work-oriented education programs

Within each of the four broadly-defined approaches to work-oriented education programs Hoppers (1996) lists common work-oriented programs that fall within a particular approach. These programs are defined by further, specific descriptions that elaborate upon the work-oriented education approach from which they are derived. The adoption of a specific program by an educational system is based upon the existing workforce environment and the specific objectives that policymakers set for work-oriented education.

I	II	III	IV
Diversified Education • Pre-vocational options • Vocational streaming	*Work Education* • Education with production • Polytechnic education • Labour classes/labour education • Work-experience projects	*Practical Education* • Handicrafts/home economics • Agriculture • Commercial subjects/informatics • Live/living skills • Technology education	*General Education* • Improved learning in core subjects • Enterprise education

Table 1. Present Types of Approaches to Programmes of Work-Orientation

From:

Hoppers, W. (1996). *Searching for Relevance: The Development of Work Orientation in Basic Education* (Vol. 52). Paris: UNESCO: International Institute for Educational Planning, 37.

4.3 USING THE WORK-ORIENTED EDUCATION FRAMEWORK

The following chapter attempts to place the 1967 ESR and 1995 ETP Tanzanian educational policies for formal basic education within the context of this framework. This is done in three steps:

1. The inclusion of work-oriented education with the specific educational policy is ascertained through a comparison between the objectives of the work-oriented education framework and the objectives of the educational policy in question. The objectives of the

educational policy are then used to identify the general focus of the work-oriented education program.

2. The educational policy's specific approaches to incorporating work-oriented education within the curriculum is classified within one of the four categories of work-oriented education approaches. This is done primarily through the use of the descriptive definitions of the four work-oriented approaches provided above. As a way of elaborating upon the descriptive analysis, the characteristics of the specific approaches are then positioned among the four sliding scales in a visual aid diagram to assist in demonstrating the approach's classification among the approach categories. Two main approaches to operationalizing work-oriented education for both ESR and ETP are identified and analyzed in the context of the descriptive definitions of approach categories. These same approaches are then plotted along the sliding scales of characteristics. The final categorization of the overall policy approach is a result of the combined analysis of the two supporting approaches.
3. Finally, based upon the policy's established work-oriented education approach category and its stated work-oriented education objectives, the policy's specific work-oriented education program are identified.

The first two steps will utilize diagrams that are intended as visual aids to assist with conceptual understanding. In order to compare the objectives of work-oriented education and the policies, a simple table is used to illustrate similarities and correlations between the two sets of objectives. In determining the categorization of the policy's approach to work-oriented education, the characteristics of specific policy approaches are plotted within Diagram 4.3. These diagrams are

generalized visual aids; they are not quantitatively-based nor are they intended to represent precise calculations of characteristics' positions upon the sliding scales.

5.0 THE ROLE OF WORK-ORIENTED EDUCATION IN TANZANIA: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

This chapter seeks to explain the changing role of work-oriented education within the Tanzanian educational system in the context of official policy documents and the work-oriented education framework presented in previous chapter. Both the 1967 ESR and 1995 ETP policies are positioned within the work-oriented education framework in accordance with official policies and educational documents. Through a comparison of their positions within the work-oriented education framework, the shifts from the ESR to ETP policy are identified and the causes discussed, particularly the change in focus from rural-oriented vocational education to technology education. In the following chapter, the implications of these continuities and changes within the history of the educational policies are considered.

It is important to specify here that the Tanzanian educational policies will be analyzed within the work-oriented education framework based upon the intended and planned curriculum and outcomes as laid out in formal policy documents and statements, both for the ESR and ETP.The actual implementation (or lack thereof) of these policies and the actual outcomes will not be considered in placement of the Tanzanian educational system within the framework, due to a lack of information and available research; however, actual implementation and outcomes of the ESR policy will be discussed qualitatively in an effort to synthesize what is known about the

effectiveness of the policy and the implications of this upon the formulation of new policies and attitudes in Tanzania.

5.1 ESR WITHIN THE WORK-ORIENTED FRAMEWORK

After Tanzania achieved independence in 1961 and underwent unification with Zanzibar in 1964 to become the United Republic of Tanzania, the first president Julius Nyerere introduced the educational policy of ESR in 1967. It was his intention that ESR should achieve a complete reformation of the colonial educational system and offer an education that was appropriate for the Tanzanian context and true to its indigenous, precolonial roots. Work-oriented education became an extremely critical part of the overall efforts to create this new educational system. By placing ESR within the work-oriented education framework, it will be possible to achieve a wider understanding of the objectives, approaches, and programs used in ESR; it will also provide a basis for achieving an understanding of the changes from ESR to ETP.

5.1.1 ESR's alignment with work-oriented education objectives

With the introduction of ESR, the main policy thrusts to transform the basic education curriculum were "designed to teach skills which can later be used in further training, employment or self-employment" (Cooksey, 1986, p. 193). This aim is not only in line with work-oriented education's most fundamental objective, to prepare students for productive work, but it can also be demonstrated the policy of ESR shares many similar objectives to the work-oriented education model in Hoppers' (1996) framework. A compilation of ESR objectives

identified by Cooksey (1986, p. 183) and Mosha (1990, p. 60) are used in Table 2 below to illustrate parallels in policy objectives:

Work-Oriented Education Objectives versus ESR Objectives	
Work-Oriented Education Objectives	**Education for Self-Reliance Objectives**
Development of productive skills relevant to work	Inculcate scientific and technological skills appropriate to the desired but constantly changing society (Mosha, 1990, p. 60)
Development of broader understanding of work environment	Integrate the school into the village community and prepare the majority for a life in agriculture rather than wage/white collar employment (Cooksey 1986, p. 183).
Assistance in transition from school to work environment	
Potential for revenue through student production within a work-oriented curriculum	
Development of social skills and attitudes that are conducive to productive work and the specific workforce environment	Prepare people for future membership in a socialist society that practises the precepts of equality, human dignity, and the value of work (Mosha, 1990, p. 60) Change the mental values and attitudes inherited from colonialism (Mosha, 1990, p. 60)
Reduction of customary divide between educational institutions and communities through combination of theory and practice in schools	Integrate school and community by making schools an integral part of the community that practice the concept of self-reliance (Mosha, 1990, p. 60)
Development of awareness of cultural background and indigenous traditions of education	Transmit from one generation to the next accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the society, which include the skills for self-reliance (Mosha, 1990, p. 60)
Contribution to societal transition through education of students	Develop a socialist and self-reliant value system among pupils and citizens (Cooksey, 1986, p. 183) Reduce elitism and the tendency for schooling to futher social and other inequalities and class formation (Cooksey, 1986, p. 183)
Cultivation of attitudes toward conscientious citizenship and responsibility to national development through hard work	Promote a sense of belonging together and enhance the spirit of co-operation by making pupils value work, practise their democratic rights, but also become accountable in their responsibilities (Mosha, 1990, p. 60) Give priority to national development needs over social demand… (Cooksey, 1986, p. 183)

Economic Sphere Socio-Cultural Sphere Political Sphere

Table 2. Comparison of Objectives between Work-Oriented Education and ESR

Using this diagram, clear parallels can be established between the objectives identified for work-oriented education and the ESR policy. The objective for which a parallel is missing, "potential for revenue," was not listed as a specific ESR policy objective by either Cooksey (1986) or Mosha (1990), but was still an important component of the ESR policy nevertheless, as curriculum reforms under ESR including "the setting up of productive activities of one kind or another to help cover costs" (Cooksey, 1986, p. 190).

From these objectives and the 1967 ESR document by Nyerere, the focus of work-oriented education in the ESR policy can be identified as rural-oriented vocational education, with a particular emphasis on agriculture. Under ESR, it was desired that education's "vocational and social aspects must… become relevant to the predominantly rural community… the crucial purpose of education was to prepare the young for work in a rural society" (Buchert, 1994, p. 95). Since Tanzania was a principally agricultural society, the main emphasis of this rural education came to rest on agricultural training and technology.

5.1.2 Work-oriented approach: ESR position among sliding characteristic scales

The next objective is to determine the category of work-oriented education approach under which ESR falls. The category of approach is based upon ESR's individual policy strategies for the incorporation of work-oriented education in reference to its focus, rural education. The categorization is done primarily using the descriptive definitions of the four work-oriented approaches within the Hoppers (1996) framework. As a way of elaborating upon the descriptive analysis, the characteristics of the specific ESR strategies are then positioned among the four sliding scales in a visual aid diagram that will assist in demonstrating the approach's classification among the approach categories.

Cooksey (1986) identifies four policy strategies for the implementation of the previously identified work-oriented education objectives in formal secondary educational institutions (p. 183):

(1) introducing self-reliance activities and political education into the curriculum;

(2) diversifying schools' curricular bias away from general academic and towards vocational, including agricultural, subjects;

(3) drastically limiting the expansion of enrollments… irrespective of demand for schooling; and

(4) reducing purely academic criteria for Form I entry through a regional quota system

The above strategies focus heavily on "vocationalising" school subjects in order to encourage "the acquisition of skills directly related to work and production" (Cooksey, 1986, p. 193). This was directly linked to the development of "self-reliance activities," or the "Self-Reliance Projects" (SRPs) as the majority of them came to be called, which were primarily characterized by school farms where students were to work in order to learn agricultural production skills and to develop strong work ethics and appreciation for rural work (D. Komba & Temu, 1996). Although the SRPs were intended to promote individual development and other academic benefits, which may appear to give the strategy a broader focus and scope, it is important to note that these additional benefits were intended to be achieved through a primary focus on the economic aspects. Productive activities of all sorts were intended to "help cover costs, to encourage self-reliance and to combine education with work" (Cooksey, 1986, p. 190). The third policy strategy was intended to limit the number of students educated for white collar, modern sector jobs, with the intention that the majority of students who did not continue their

education past the primary level would stay within their communities to work and contribute to rural development. The fourth policy strategy, by limiting the importance of traditional "academic criteria," intended to emphasize student participation in and attitude toward the SRPs and productive activities as a critical part of students' evaluations, in order to encourage students to take the development of their practical skills seriously (Cooksey, 1986).

Upon review, thesepolicystrategies fit within the descriptive definition of the "work education approach" in the work-oriented education framework (Hoppers, 1996): The first, second, and fourth approaches all seek to make the work element "an ongoing and integral dimension of the curriculum throughout the education cycle" through the increased importance of vocational education and the integration with the entirety of the educational system as well as demonstrates that "much attention is given to the experience of real or simulated work situation" within the ESR policy (p. 34-35). By mandating the development of SRP and other ESR productive activities, the policyensures that these experiences "are not merely an extension of classroom learning, but… they constitute direct learning experiences for the pupils by being involved in the actual production of complete goods or services" (Hoppers, 1996, pp. 34-35). By both integrating vocational biases within the regular academic curriculum and setting up separate productive activities, the work aspect of the curriculum is both a part of the core curriculum and is also combined in extracurricular activities. These critical characteristics indicate ESR's classification within the work education approach.

Using these four key strategies, the work-oriented approach of ESR can be loosely positioned along the sliding characteristic scales within the work-oriented education framework in Figure4.[2]

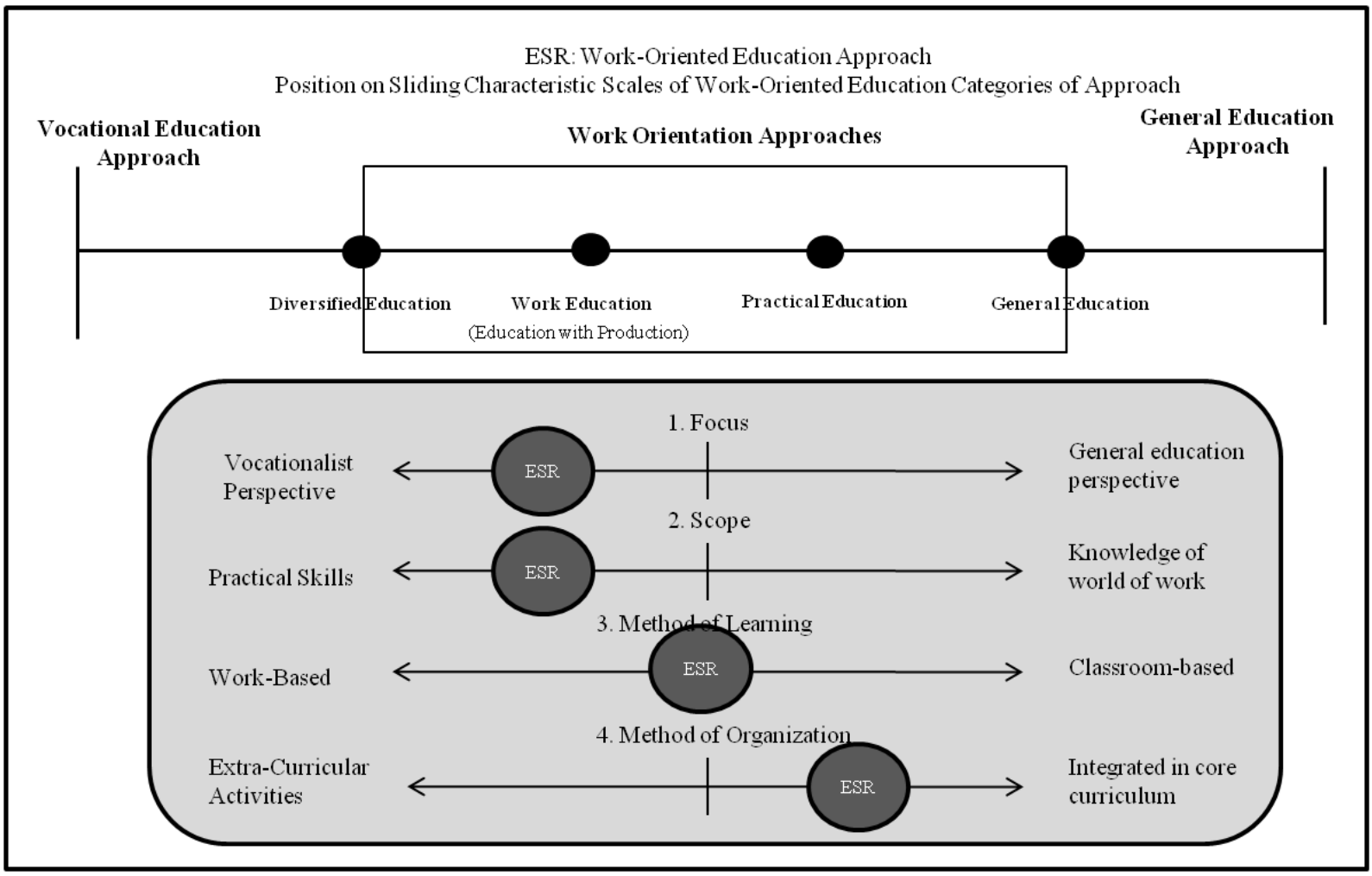

Figure 4. Categorization of ESR Approach to Work-Oriented Education

[2]This diagram is intended as a visual aid; it is not quantitatively-based nor is it intended to represent precise calculations of characteristics' positions upon the sliding scales. An approach can be positioned on one of only three possible points on the sliding scales in the diagrams (left, center, right).

The focus on "vocationalising" subjects and the direct acquisition of productive and agricultural skills correlates with a strong bias toward a vocationalist perspective, on the left side of the "focus" characteristic scale. This same "vocationalising" also indicates a narrower focus on the development of practical skills, as opposed to a broader focus on generalizable knowledge. Furthermore, the reduction in the importance of "academic criteria" in student evaluations consequentially increases the importance of practical, manual skills and knowledge by instead emphasizing the importance of ESR activities. These considerations indicate ESR's position on the left side of the "scope" characteristic scale, toward an emphasis on "practical skills." The ESR approach is more evenly split when it comes to the "method of learning" characteristics. As there is a focus on "subject biases" and their incorporation within already established classroom subjects, this seems to correspond with a "classroom-based" approach. However, the establishment of SRPs and other productive activities outside of the classroom are more oriented toward a "work-based" approach, in which the students are learning through engaging in the productive processes and simultaneously creating something of value. Therefore, the ESR approach is positioned in between both characteristics on the "method of learning" characteristic scale. The ESR approach is considered to be oriented toward "core curriculum" integration on the "method of organization" characteristic scale, as indicated through the incorporation of work-oriented "biases" within the core, therefore mandatory, components of the general curriculum. Although the SRPs and other activities are "extra-curricular" in the sense that they are outside of the classroom, the fact student participation is mandatory and are considered in student evaluation makes them a part of the "core" curriculum.

It has been noted in the Hoppers (1996) framework that a more vocationalist perspective on work-oriented education would lead to a greater emphasis the economic objectives over the

socio-cultural or political objectives. This is corroborated by ESR's vocationalist perspective and Cooksey's (1986) assertion that within ESR policy the "productive aspect is stressed over the didactic benefits" as the Ministry of Education "concentrate[s] exclusively on the economic aspects of ESR, ignoring completely the educational dimension" (p. 191). However, it has been demonstrated above that ESR's work-oriented objectives are very broad and encompass all three of the spheres' objectives, without finding a particular focus on economic objectives. An explanation for this inconsistency may originate from a unique quality of the ESR policy, in which it is intended that many of the socio-cultural and political objectives of ESR will be realized *through* an emphasis on and achievement of economic objectives (D. Komba & Temu, 1996). Thus, the expected emphasis on economic objectives is still observed, and no conflict exists between the objectives of the different spheres since the success of the economic objectives is viewed as integral to the attainment of the other objectives.

5.1.3 Education for Self-Reliance and Education with Production

ERS has commonly been identified with the work-oriented education program of Education with Production (EWP) by scholars (Hoppers, 1995; Hoppers & Komba, 1995;D. A. Komba, 1980). Komba and Temu(1996) state: "A cardinal dimension of ESR was the integration of Education with Production (EWP). That highlighted the need for Tanzania to relate in a very fundamental way the process of learning to the productive work life in society and therefore to the process of national development at large" (D. Komba & Temu, 1996, p. 63). ESR's use of the EWP aligns with its identified work-oriented education objectives, its categorization within the "work education" approach, and its focus upon rural-oriented vocational education.

EWP is a specific sub-type of work-oriented education, as identified in Hoppers (Hoppers, 1996) work-oriented education framework. It was developed in response to an ongoing "search for improving relevance in education" as a part of the broader "notion of linking theory with practical work and of school education with meaningful experiences in the home or work situation" (Hoppers, 1995, p. 29). As the guiding model for ESR, it remained a key component of work-oriented education from the late 1960s until the early 1990s, and became the basis around which the concept of relevant education was constructed in policies.

As defined by Wim Hoppers (1995), EWP is "an approach to learning involving an institutionalized interaction between the development of knowledge and skills on the one hand and the production process on the other hand" (p. 15). When EWP is used as a work-oriented program within basic education institutions, the exposure to productive work within general education institutions is expected to provide many benefits beyond the immediate acquisition of productive skills. Productive work and contribution though labor to one's community is expected to aid in students' personal and character development by instilling a strong work ethic and values, as well as develop stronger ties between the educational institutions and local communities by including community members in the planning and process of student-based production (Komba, 1996).

In many EWP programs, an emphasis has developed on the acquisition of practical skills as related to production in an agricultural or manual labor context, a trend that holds true for the Tanzanian experience. This association between EWP and rural-oriented education has developed as part of an interactive relationship in which the nature of EWP's focus on productive work within the school environment has been particularly conducive to agricultural work is combined with a tendency by policymakers seeking solutions to rural development to

favor EWP programs (Komba, 1996). Furthermore, the productive aspect of EWP programs often make it particularly attractive to policymakers because of its economic potential through cost-free student production that to, at least theoretically, reduce educational and upkeep costs (Hoppers, 1995).

5.2 ETP IN THE WORK-ORIENTED EDUCATION FRAMEWORK

The 1995 Education and Training Policy (ETP) is regarded as the official departure from the policies of ESR, corresponding with the broader changes in national economic and political policies also taking place in the 1990s. The introduction of ETP saw a shift in the educational system toward a general education approach, away from vocational approach emphasized in ESR, and began to actively work toward the expansion of access to secondary education and higher education (*Education and Training Policy*, 1995). The implications of these broader changes for the role of work-oriented education in the 1995 ETP policy will be charted through the following analysis of ETP in the work-oriented education framework.

5.2.1 ETP's alignment with work-oriented education objectives

In the 1995 ETP policy, education is defined as "the process of initiating and preparing man through training, in his environment, to play active roles in society" (*Education and Training Policy*, 1995, p. viii). Within this definition of education, work-oriented education has the potential to play an extremely critical part in the preparation of man for one of the most important "roles in society:" work. The association between education and its role in preparing

students for societal roles is further emphasized throughout the policy document of ETP. The Foreword of the 1995 ETP policy stresses the educational system's role in preparing its citizens to become productive members of society by ensuring that students "have adequate knowledge and skills needed to meet the demand of rapid economic development" (The Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 1995, Foreword). It states that "human resources remain seriously underdeveloped" within Tanzania and emphasizes the necessity of educational improvements in order to produce the skilled workers and professionals needed word (The Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 1995, Foreword). These statements are closely related to the wider objective of work-oriented education, to prepare students for the world of work. Furthermore, within the specific objectives for both primary and secondary education, the objective "to prepare the student to enter the world of work" is listed (*Education and Training Policy*, 1995, p. 5; 7). Beyond a general observance of work-oriented education goals, it can be demonstrated that many of the general ETP objectives are aligned with the objectives of the work-oriented education framework (see Figure 5) (*Education and Training Policy*, 1995, pp. 1-2):

Work-Oriented Education Objectives versus ETP Objectives	
Work-Oriented Education Objectives	Education and Training Policy Objectives
Development of productive skills relevant to work	To promote the acquisition and appropriate use of literary, social, scientific, vocational, technological, professional and other forms of knowledge, skills and understanding for the development and improvement of the condition of man and society
Development of broader understanding of work environment	To guide and promote the development and improvement of the personalities of the citizens of Tanzania, their human resources and effective utilization of those resources in bringing about individual and national development
Assistance in transition from school to work environment	To enable and to expand the scope of acquisition, improvement and upgrading of mental, practical, productive and other life skills needed to meet the changing needs of industry and the economy
Potential for revenue through student production within a work-oriented curriculum	
Development of social skills and attitudes that are conducive to productive work and the specific workforce environment	To develop and promote self-confidence and an inquiring mind, an understanding and respect for human dignity and human rights and a readiness to work hard for personal self-advancement and national improvement To promote the love and respect for work, self and wage employment and improved performance in the production and service sectors
Reduction of customary divide between educational institutions and communities through combination of theory and practice in schools	
Development of awareness of cultural background and indigenous traditions of education	To promote the acquisition and appreciation of culture, customs and traditions of the people of Tanzania
Contribution to societal transition through education of students	To inculcate principles of the national ethic and integrity, national and international cooperation, peace and justice through the study, understanding and adherence to the provisions of the National Constitution and other international basic charters
Cultivation of attitudes toward conscientious citizenship and responsibility to national development through hard work	To enable every citizen to understand the fundamentals of the National Constitution as well as the enshrined human and civic rights, obligations, and responsibilities

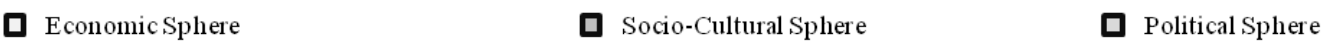

Table 3. Comparison of Objectives between Work-Oriented Education and ETP

The alignment between the two sets of objectives indicates the continued importance of work-oriented education in the ETP policy. The *focus* of these objectives has changed, however, to emphasize the importance of technologyand science in preparing students for the work environment. Within the definition of the new ETP policy, science and technology are the only subjects to be specifically mentioned as having critical roles in the educational system, with part of the definition of education being that (*Education and Training Policy*, 1995):

> it embodies within it science and science and technology. Science and technology as an aspect of education, is one of man's many experiences… in the relentless effort to understand, manage and harness the environment. Science and technology is valued in society for its practical achievements… The application of scientific and technical knowledge helps to raise the level of human welfare, development and happiness (p. viii).

Although the policy stresses the importance of both science and technology, many of the new developments of the ETP policy have been focused on upon the development of technology education, particularly information and communication technology (ICT). An Information and Communication Technology (ICT) policy was developed as a part of the ETP policy in part due to the recognition that "the integration of ICT in the education system will eventually boost the economic engine of the country by preparing its citizens for the knowledge based economy" (*Information & Communication Technology (ICT) Policy for Basic Education*, 2007, p. 3). The emphasis upon technology in education is related to the expectation that the "inclusion of ICT skills in the curriculum and the use of ICT to support 21st century learning can increase relevance" (Swarts & Mwiyeria, 2010, p. 7). Because of the heavy focus on technology education and ICT education in preparing students for work and participation in the economy,

the ETP policy approach categorization will be considered in the context of the 2007 ICT policy strategies for the implementation of work-oriented education.

5.2.2 Work-Oriented Approach: ETP Position Among Sliding Characteristic Scales

The 1995 ETP's policy focuses on technology education and particularly ICT education as a primary strategy for preparing students for the world of work. ETP stresses the promotion of "science and technology through intensification of vocational education and training" (*Education and Training Policy*, 1995, Foreword) and ETP's emphasis that the "school has an important role to play in imparting knowledge and skills of science and technology" (*Education and Training Policy*, 1995, p. 52). The 2007 ICT policy was developed as a sub-policy to ETP in order to fulfill the objectives of the ETP policy by "improving the lives of people in Tanzania and in creating job opportunities… The major goal is to build a highly skilled and educated workforce with aptitude and skills in the application of ICT in everyday life" (*Information & Communication Technology (ICT) Policy for Basic Education*, 2007, pp. 1-2). Thus, the ICT policy strategies will be used to assess the ETP policy approach to work-oriented education.

The major policy strategies of ICT that are relevant[3] to the implementation of work-oriented education objectives in the basic formal education curriculum are outlined in the five statements below in the 2007 ICT policy (*Information & Communication Technology (ICT) Policy for Basic Education*, 2007, pp. 15-16):

[3] Although there are a total of eleven statements of ICT policy strategies for the ICT curriculum, many of these are less directly relevant to the implementation of specific work-oriented education objectives and are instead focused on issues like the ethical use of ICT by the MoEVT or the use of specific ICT content or programs.

- **Statement No. 6.2.1**: The MoEVT will ensure that ICT is integrated into the curriculum at pre-primary, primary, secondary, and teacher education levels…
- **Statement No.6.2.2.**: The MoEVT will collaborate with other educational institutions to ensure that subject-specific pedagogy includes the integration of ICT in the teaching and learning process, e.g. the classroom. If necessary, it will be advised that courses be modified or new courses be introduced to satisfy that need.
- **Statement 6.2.4.**: The MoEVT will collaborate with relevant institutions to develop and disseminate content that addresses critical development issues, and the preservation and promotion of Tanzania's history and cultural identity and diversity…
- **Statement 6.2.7**.: The MoEVT will ensure that ICT is used in the teaching and learning process to support the mastery of subject matter while addressing individual learner's differences, critical thinking skills, and language, through interactive and participatory learning
- **Statement 6.2.9.**: The MoEVT will provide the opportunity for fostering the creative and interactive capacity of learners and teachers through the use of ICT and multimedia

These five strategies indicate that the ETP policy approach fits within the descriptive definition of the "practical education" approach as it "subscribes to a general education perspective but attempts to improve relevance by giving an explicit practical bias to the curriculum throughthe introduction of compulsory or optional 'practical subjects'" (Hoppers, 1996, p. 35). The strategies attempt to do this by integrating ICT into the regular academic curriculum subjects, but place a particular emphasis on the development of subjects that are specifically focused on ICT knowledge and skills development. The strategies introduce

practical biases into an overall general education curriculum by encouraging the development of practical knowledge and skills that relate to ICT the context of core curriculum. However, ICT is also "meant to broaden the range of basic skills in the curriculum and to help orientate pupils to the nature of the local economy" (Hoppers, 1996, p. 35). This is demonstrated through the strategies' focus on knowledge and skills development outside of strictly ICT skills, such as "critical development issues, and the preservation and promotion of Tanzania's history and cultural identity and diversity" as well as their dedication to "fostering the creative and interactive capacity." Their focus upon technology education also fits within the descriptive definition of "practical education," as does its predominant location within the classroom setting. The nature of technology education and its integration into the curriculum results in an "emphasis on practical work [that] tends to be on the application of classroom theories and the acquisition of a limited range of personal competencies" (Hoppers, 1996, p. 36).

Using these five key strategies, the work-oriented approach of ETP can be loosely positioned along the sliding characteristic scales within the work-oriented education framework in Figure 6.

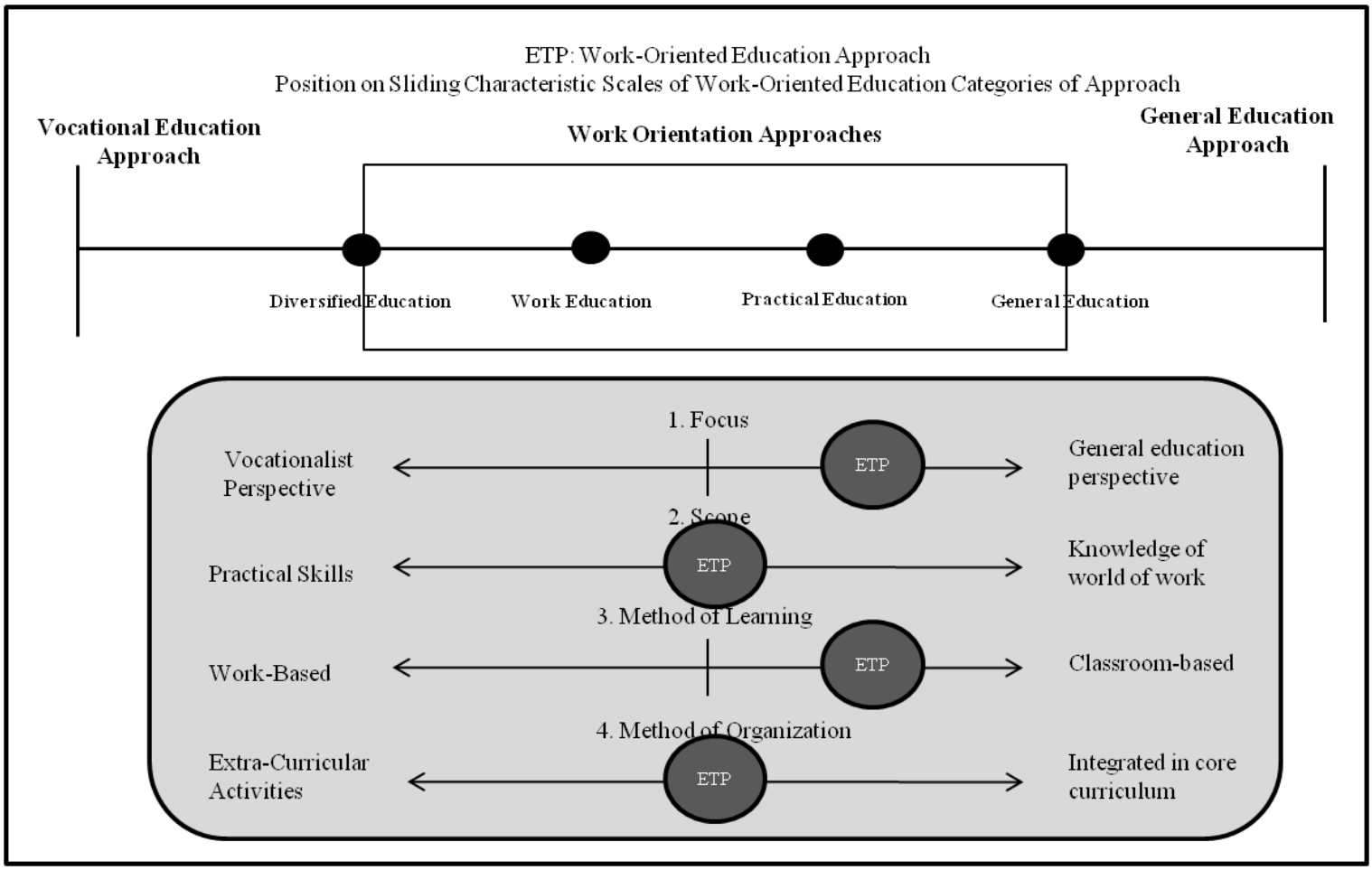

Figure 5. Categorization of ETP Approach to Work-Oriented Education

The ETP policy can be classified as having a "general education" approach on the "focus" characteristic scale because of its concern with many of the socio-cultural objectives of work-oriented education, such as the development of "critical thinking skills," cultural and historical awareness, and "creative and interactive capacity." This corresponds to a stronger orientation toward "knowledge of world of work" on the "scope" characteristic scale as well, as the acquisition of these broader skills are meant to give students a broader understanding and adaptability to the work environment as well. However, the "mastery of subject matter" is still an important objective of ICT education, as the attainment of practical skills and knowledge

associated with ICT are considered critical to preparing for the work environment. Therefore, the ETP policy is positioned between in the middle of the "scope" characteristic scale. Since it is the integration of ICT education into "the teaching and learning process, e.g. the classroom" that is focused upon, the ETP policy is placed on the "classroom-based" side of the "method of learning" characteristic scale. As with the ESR policy, it is slightly more difficult to place the ETP policy on the last of the characteristic scales, "method of organization." Because the focus of the ICT strategies is on the complete integration of ICT into the general curriculum, this means that ICT will become a part of the core curriculum. However, ICT subjects are not yet considered mandatory at a national level, mostly because of the lack of widespread availability of facilities and programs across resource-deprived schools. Therefore, ICT education cannot be considered to be a part of the "core curriculum" at most schools, at least at the present. As a result, the ETP policy is positioned in the middle of the characteristic scale.

5.2.3 Education and Training Policy and Technology Education

Due to ETP's strong focus on science and technology education, particularly ICT, and its categorization as a "practical education" approach to work-oriented education, its primary work-oriented education program is that of "Technology Education" (TE). TE is defined by Hoppers (1996) as:

> A relatively new subject aiming at developing an understanding of technological changes and how these influence daily work and life. It often includes a practical dimension, paying attention to design and problem solving, and to the development of practical capabilities… (p. 101).

In Tanzania, the TE program is largely focused upon Information and Communication Technology (ICT) or Information and Computer Studies (ICS). An initial policy called The Technical Education and Training Policy in Tanzania was issued by the Ministry of Science, Technology, and Higher Education in 1996, immediately after the 1995 ETP policy. Currently in use is a ICT Policy, created in 2003 and updated in 2007 as a part of the larger 1995 ETP policy, as well as a specific syllabus for ICS for secondary schools, updated in 2005 (*Information and Computer Studies Syllabus for Secondary Schools Form I-IV*, 2005).

TE in Tanzania has been primarily focused upon ICT education, especially in recent years. The 2007 ICT policy views ICT as having a critical role in improving education, stating that "the strategic integration of ICT is expected to improve access and equity to, and quality and relevance of basic education" (2007, p. 2). ICT education is also expected to have many economic benefits for students, particularly in preparing them for participation in the economy and enabling them to make valuable contributions to the development of the country; these expectations are directly in line with the primary objectives of work-oriented education. Other benefits of ICT education are also emphasized by the policy, including the development of critical thinking skills, expanding access to the outside world, improving teaching quality and methods, and the personal and character development of students (The Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2007).

5.3 WORK-ORIENTED EDUCATION IN THE TANZANIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The educational policy of Tanzania after independence has relied heavily upon the work-oriented education approach and programs to improve educational relevance through the incorporation of practical education in basic education. This began with the introduction of the 1967 ESR policy, which employed the EWP program, categorized under the work education approach (Hoppers & Komba, 1995; D. Komba & Temu, 1996), and has continued into the current 1995 ETP, which integrates a TE program as a part of the practical education approach. Although the Tanzanian educational system has experienced many changes since ESR, work-oriented education continues to be the primary method of operationalizing practical education to increase relevance.

However, there have been significant changes in the *focus* of work-oriented education in Tanzania which have resulted in a change in the work-oriented education program used by Tanzania.The EWP program of ESR focused upon rural-oriented vocational education, emphasizing knowledge and skills for agricultural and other rural occupations. That focus has changed from ESR to ETP's TE program focus on ICT education. These changes necessitated a shift within the work-oriented education programs used, from EWP (work education) to Technology Education (practical education).

This change in focus corresponds with both a transformation in the focus of practical education in Tanzania as well as broader changes at the national and international levels that affected the educational system and policies. The trends in work-oriented education in Tanzania follow global patterns in development education of rising popularity of vocational education in the 1960s and 1970s followed by a decline and sharp criticisms of the vocationalization of primary and secondary schools (McGrath, 2010). However, the idea of vocational education and

skills acquisition in basic education has recently begun to be re-circulated, as noted by McGrath (2010):

> The second half of the MDG period has begun with a heightened interest in a broad skills agenda, overlapping with but not contiguous to older vocational education and training debates. This is in part because there is a growing international policy acceptance that skills for work are not an alternative to UPE but a vital element of its achievement (p. 538).

This renewed interest in skills development is reflected in the Tanzanian educational system and the role of work-oriented education within it, as the focus upon ICT education and the acquisition of technology and computer skills by students indicates. These continuities and changes and their implications for work-oriented education in education in Tanzania will be further considered in the following chapter.

6.0 IMPLICATIONS OF CONTINUITY AND LESSONS FOR ETP

Although the educational system has undergone many changes since independence, both ESR and ETP policies have continued to make work-oriented education an important part of basic education in Tanzania. This makes it possible to meaningfully compare similarities and differences between the two policies within the context of work-oriented education. This could hold important implications for the implementation and review of the current ETP policy as well as any future policy developments within work-oriented education.

The biggest changes between the ESR and ETP policies within the work-oriented framework were a shift in policy approach to a more general education perspective and a change in emphasis from rural-oriented vocational education (within the EWP program) to ICT education (within the TE program). The current policy focus on TE has broader focus on practical knowledge and skills development than the previous rural-oriented education, both because of the inherent natures of these subjects and also because of the shift within the work-orientation framework since ESR. However, despite these changes, both of these policies make a broad attempt to integrate practical knowledge and skills within basic education as a method of preparing students for work and increasing relevance. Since the basic approach to improving relevance through work-oriented education remains similar, so too are the challenges faced by both of the policies in implementing their approaches. By recognizing and understanding the

challenges and failures within the previous ESR policy, it is possible to draw implications and identify lessons for the current ETP policy.

The analysis of similar challenges and shortcomings will be based upon the ESR policy implementation of rural-oriented vocational education and the ETP policy's implementation of ICT education. Many of the challenges affecting both policies are closely related to other, larger systemic challenges in other sectors of Tanzania, as well as from other educational challenges. It is also important to note that all of these challenges are interconnected and interactive to various degrees, in that one challenge may both be caused by and also have an impact on another or multiple other challenges.

6.1 COMMON CHALLENGES WITHIN ESR & ETP POLICIES AND ACHIEVEMENT OF WORK-ORIENTED EDUCATION IMPLEMENTATION

ESR and ETP face many similar challenges and shortcomings in the implementation of work-oriented education programs. The challenges can be categorized into the follow issue areas:

- Resource-based issues
- Inadequate teacher-training
- Attitude barriers
- Problems with policy curriculum and implementation
- Lack of assessment/evaluation
- Issues of inequality and access

Although it cannot be ascertained whether or which of these or other challenges were responsible for the ultimate failure of ESR and the implementation of rural-oriented vocational education, nor the exact size of the role that they played, it is likely that they all had an important impact and that the combination of such momentous challenges prevented successful implementation.

Resource-based issues

While problems relating to an inadequate amount of resources are to a large degree generalizable across all of the sectors in Tanzania, not just education, this issue is particularly critical when considering the implementation of practical education policies. Both ESR and ETP's work-oriented programs rely upon very specific training and fairly expensive and updated equipment to ensure the success of their work-oriented programs. A critical lack of financial and equipment resources have plagued the implementation process of both policies. The rural-based "Self-Reliance projects" and other vocational activities suffered severely from a "lack of suitable teaching and learning materials… old and inappropriate equipment… [and] inappropriate technology" (Lillis and Hogan, 1983, p. 96). Mosha(1990) notes that the government's strong enthusiasm and dedication to the philosophy of self-reliance and the ESR policy was never "able to match policy intentions with a commitment of resources" (p. 63) which in turn led to an inability to achieve policy objectives. These financial challenges have been continued with the ETP policy. A 2008 review of the ETP policy objectives and achievement consistently and repetitively lists "lack of facilities," "lack of appropriate human resources," "lack of finance", and "low financing for practicals" as reasons for the shortfalls in implementation of ICT and other science and technology policy objectives (Rajabu, Buretta, & Swai, 2008). This combination of a "poor infrastructure and lack of resources" (Kessy, Kaemba, & Gachoka, 2006,

p. 2) as a key challenge facing the implementation of ICT education is due in part to the "enormous investments required for appropriate models of ICT integration (Swarts & Mwiyeria, 2010, p. 38).

However the lack of material resources and infrastructure is not the only resource-based challenge that confronts both the ESR and ETP policies; human resources shortages are also a critical issue. Lillis and Hogan explain that in diversified educational programs, there are often a very limited number of "vocationally competent" teachers who are trained to teach the agricultural subjects or run productive projects (Lillis & Hogan, 1983, p. 96). Mosha(1990) expands upon this issue, citing a need for specialized teacher training in order for ESR activities or agricultural courses to be effective in teaching students skills or giving hands-on experience. This is paralleled in the current ETP, in which a severe lack of the appropriate human resources and ICT experts are hindering the implementation of ICT policies and programs (Swarts & Mwiyeria, 2010).

Issues stemming from a lack of resources, both financial and otherwise, affect all aspects of the entire educational system as well as most other sectors in developing countries. While this problem seems insurmountable, it is a necessary problem to take into consideration when planning educational policy. There have been several attempts to find solutions to the problem of educational policy planning and provision in low-resource settings. One possible response is to encourage the provision of secondary education through private institutions and funding instead of public, government schools. Private secondary education has been shown to be a viable and cost-effective option for resource-limited governments, and has been proven to be both academically and economically more effective than public education (Jacob, Holsinger, & Mugimu, 2008).

Although resource-based problems are extremely difficult to overcome and are often beyond the direct control of policymakers and educational officials, it is important to acknowledge the parallel between the specific resource challenges of ESR and ETP. Because funding and access to specific equipment and expertise is essential even to a partial success of both rural-based education and ICT education, the impossibility of implementing these policies without sufficient resources should be recognized. In light of this, ETP's implementation of ICT education should be reconsidered in terms of reallocation and realistic ability to achieve the set objectives.

Inadequate Teacher Training

Rural-oriented vocational education in the ESR policy was continuously struggling with a teacher workforce that was inadequately trained or prepared to teach the vocational subjects or skills of ESR. As a result, the "lack of proper preparation of teachers for specialized subjects… completely undermined the use of scientific knowledge and skills in most school projects" (Mosha, 1990, p. 64), as well as hindered the overall integration of practical education into the broader curriculum. Furthermore, many teachers were either apathetic toward or outright opposed to the fundamental philosophies of ESR, another shortcoming of teacher training that severely impaired the effectives of rural-oriented vocational education (Lillis & Hogan, 1983). Similarly, current ICT education in suffers from a lack of appropriately trained or capable ICT personnel, particularly in rural areas. This is related to broader problems of teacher quality in Tanzania, but it is particularly critical to ICT education, which requires even more specialized training and teaching methods in order to be effectively taught as a subject (Swarts & Mwiyeria, 2010).

The issue of inadequate teacher training is closely connected to issues of pedagogy in the implementation of rural-oriented vocational education and ICT education. Under the ESR policy, teachers proved to be unable to adapt and adjust to the new teaching styles and methods of interaction between teachers and students that were necessary for successfully achieving certain ESR objectives of personal development and adaptive critical thinking skills (Cooksey, 1986). Instead, "pedagogy tend[ed] to be… academic and inflexible, incapable of change or variety in accord with local conditions" (Lillis & Hogan, 1983, p. 96), following the usual methods of memorization and limited opportunities for independent student inquiry or development. ICT education in the ETP policy has many of the same objectives concerning student development of adaptive critical thinking skills and the propensity for self-led learning. Yet it remains that "the teaching-learning process in Tanzania is mostly teacher-led… denying the students the chance to actively participate in the learning process" (Senzige & Sarukesi, 2003, p. 1). This rigid pedagogy is unfavorable to the development of independent thinking and learning skills, and obstructs the achievement of work-oriented education objectives.

The role of inadequate teacher training in the implementation of rural-oriented vocational education can serve as an indicator for the future success of ICT education if similar issues are not resolved. Currently, ICT education in Tanzania does prioritize teacher training and education in teacher training colleges and programs, which is a critical step in successfully implementing ICT education in primary and secondary schools (Swarts & Mwiyeria, 2010). It follows that teachers must first have the knowledge and familiarity with ICT subjects and skills before being able to successfully teach ICT, a progression which ESR failed to establish when implementing rural-oriented vocational education. It is also beneficial that ICT training for teachers is within the core curriculum, so that all teachers have an operable knowledge of the

subject, not just teachers specialized in ICT (Swarts & Mwiyeria, 2010). This will allow ICT education to become truly integrated within the whole curriculum, in line with policy objectives.

The problem of inadequate teacher training and low teacher quality is compounded by outside factors as well, particularly the prevalence of HIV/AIDS among teacher populations in Eastern Africa and other countries with a high HIV/AIDS prevalence. Presently, the "number of teachers who will die of AIDS-related illnesses is expected to increase rapidly" (Bennell, Hyde, & Swainson, 2002). Beyond simple morbidity rates, the increased presence of HIV/AIDS among teacher populations will have an extended impact upon teacher quality and teaching effectiveness as infected teachers struggle with the disease and both medical and non-medical related problems that come with it. Furthermore, as death rates among teachers increase due to HIV/AIDS, there will be a corresponding demand for teachers in educational systems already suffering from a low teacher supply. Accordingly, teacher qualifications will be lowered and teaching training times will be decreased in order to meet this new demand (Bennell, et al., 2002). The HIV/AIDS epidemic among teacher populations is not only worsening the already existing issue of teacher quality and training, but has important economic implications for educational systems already facing severe resource shortages (Grassly et al., 2003). In addressing these issues that are so critical to the success of the current work-oriented education policies, it will be important to be aware of these outside factors, such as the HIV/AIDS epidemic, and the further complications that they hold.

Attitude Barriers

Negative attitudes toward ESR and particularly its rural-oriented vocational education initiatives were widespread and only increased with time. Initial resistance to ESR stemmed from the association of "vocational" education and training for agricultural and manual

occupations with colonial education policies. As these policies contained inbuilt mechanisms of inequality and oppression for native Tanzanians, vocational education was considered to be inferior, and popular demand after independence was for general access to a western "academic" education (D. Komba & Temu, 1996). This was related to pervasive societal concepts about what constituted "valid" knowledge and "valid" schooling based upon the western model of education (Lillis & Hogan, 1983). The aversion to vocational, particularly agricultural, education was only strengthened in light of the implementation failures and lack of achievement of the ESR policy. Citizens became increasingly suspicious of government intentions and increasing gaps of inequality, and most teachers, parents, and students resented and opposed ESR policies (Mosha, 1990).

The ETP policy is also negatively impacted by attitudinal barriers to its implementation, of a different nature than those of ESR, but still related to perceptions of relevance regarding ICT education. There exists a cultural assumption that ICT and higher technology is extraneous to life and work in developing countries, and therefore not worth the devotion of resources or time. There is also the perception that ICT education is too complex and resource-intensive as a subject and therefore too difficult to implement (Kessy, et al., 2006). Swarts and Mwiyeria(2010) note that these unsupportive attitudes are related to a historical distrust of technology because of old government policies restricting its use, as well as a lack of understanding of the benefits and roles of technology within development and society that has led to a corresponding lack of prioritization within policy .

This attitudinal resistance can be extremely detrimental to the successful implementation of any educational policy, and must be addressed in order for ETP and ICT education to achieve their objectives.

Problems with policy curriculum and implementation

The ESR policy's implementation of rural-oriented vocational education was inundated by issues of suitability and clarity of policy curriculum and implementation. At a most basic level, ESR curricula were "not based on adequate needs assessment and hence they fail[ed] to capture the realities of life in the community" (Mosha, 1990, p. 63). Additionally, the curricula often went directly against the policy objectives and intentions:

> "There is an overemphasis on factual knowledge and academic content vs. practical skills. Furthermore, the curricula fail to allow inculcation of basic knowledge and skills, and therefore they are incomplete and defeat the goals of terminality and preparation for life" (Mosha, 1990, p. 63).

As a result of the inadequacy of the ESR policy curricula, the education that students received did not successfully prepare them for the world of work. The vocational skills that were taught to students were often not employable or desirable for a variety of different reasons, but mainly because they were not generalizable to the relevant workforce or world of work (D. Komba & Temu, 1996).

A second issue with policy curriculum and implementation was the lack of clarity and clear directives with which the policies were formed and implemented. The ESR policy implementation suffered from a widespread confusion and misunderstanding surrounding even basic definitions and goals of the policy. The implementation was chaotic, haphazard, and partial, and for the most part disregarded the policy objectives and philosophies. This was caused by a multitude of factors, including the lack of a clear and comprehensive national policy, the lack of government organization and guidance in policy implementation, and resource deficiencies (Lillis & Hogan, 1983).

Like ESR, the ETP curriculum and implementation of ICT education does not always have a realistic or rational understanding of the challenges which it faces. The ICT curriculum is outdated and its objectives have become somewhat obsolete in the context of the modern economy. In addition, there is "no framework in place to guide the integration of ICT into teaching and learning," a key policy objective of ICT (Swarts & Mwiyeria, 2010, p. 43). These problems are further compounded by the lack of guidance and direction provided by the national policies, as well as disorganized planning and a lack of clear strategies (Swarts & Mwiyeria, 2010).

This indicates the need for an immediate revision and reform of ICT policy in order for it to become more effective and meet policy objectives. Otherwise, an outdated curriculum will cause the knowledge and skills imparted to students to be useless for employment or the broader world of work, a significant problem noted with the ESR policy. It is also necessary for a clearer implementation strategy to be formulated in order to provide leadership and direction in the implementation and goals of ICT. Many of the policy curriculum and implementation problems seem to stem from an unrealistic view of current policy challenges and shortcomings which in fact render the successful implementation of the devised policy impossible. An approach to policy implementation and strategy that acknowledges the inadequacies and defects of the current situation would be more beneficial and would provide a clearer policy outlook.

Lack of assessment/evaluation

Both ESR and ETP policies suffer from a significant lack of available data assessing and evaluating their policy efforts and effectiveness. Komba and Temu (1995) point out that this dearth of data and the lack of comprehensive evaluation efforts for the ESR policy make it extremely difficult to ascertain its impact. Accurate and thorough assessments are necessary in

order to determine whether or not particular aspects and programs of a policy are successful in meeting their objectives, and furthermore this data allows policymakers to make informed decisions and reveal which reforms and changes need to be made. Government efforts to evaluate ESR focused mainly on the economic production and output of students, rather than on learning outcomes. Lillis and Hogan (1983) mark this as a common defect of vocationalized education, and record that the "impact of many training programmes is diluted through being tied to inappropriate leaving examinations" (p. 97) which make it impossible to determine the true effect of the programs, let alone determine the changes or shortcomings of such programs.

This remains a key problem for the ETP policy's implementation of ICT education. Swarts and Mwiyeria (2010) indicate that there is limited to no available data regarding ICT programs and integration, particularly in primary and secondary schools; this deficiency "hampers [the] ability to determine if ICT is playing a useful role and to adjust strategy accordingly" (p. 43). Although this issue is at least partly related to the lack of financial support, it is also a result of poorly organized and operated administration and management of ICT education. Efforts can and should be made to address these issues, so that proper assessment and evaluation of the ICT programs in place can be conducted. This will add to the understanding of the impact of the other challenges upon ICT education and will place the administration in a better position to meet those challenges and ensure the successful attainment of the ETP and ICT objectives.

Issues of Inequality and Access

Both the ESR and ETP policies are challenged by existing and increasing inequities in the educational system. These can be identified primarily along rich-poor divisions, urban-rural divisions (which is often related to socioeconomic status), and gender divisions. Since the

majority of the population in Tanzania is both impoverished and rurally located, and the majority of the population in rural areas is often female (Hafkin, 2002), these inequities are particularly alarming.

The ESR policy and rural-oriented vocational education failed to address and even worsened many inequities within the Tanzanian educational system. Firstly, the nature of a system which attempts to restrict secondary education and higher education opportunities inevitably led to the predominant access of the elite and wealthy classes in society, while leaving the lower classes unable to either attain or afford further education given the lower quality education and limited financial means that was available to them (Lillis & Hogan, 1983). This is related the policy's tendency to increase urban-rural inequity, as most of the population in schools in rural areas were of much lower socioeconomic status than the population of the urban schools. Furthermore, the rural-oriented vocational education was naturally intended to target the rural areas, which would gain the most benefit from such an education. However, this issue in this type of targeted education is that "early vocational preparation has been shown to discriminate against children of lower socio-economic background, as well as against girls" (Hoppers, 1996, p. 28). Therefore, students in rural areas received a lower education which also predestined them to remain in those same rural and underdeveloped areas working in specific rural occupations. Education did not afford them either the same opportunities or the same intended objectives as that of children in urban areas. Although this was not an intention of the ESR policy, which sought to reduce inequalities, these were the actual outcomes, made worse through a flawed implementation of the policy which favored the development of these inequities (D. Komba & Temu, 1996).

Although the ETP policy and ICT education actively strive to reduce inequalities and barriers to access of all kinds as part of their key mission and objectives, many of the same issues of equality exist in the current implementation of ICT education. Because of the financial commitment required for ICT programs, richer schools and areas are invariably better able to install ICT programs and pay for the costs of start-up and up-keep. As a result, ICT education access and quality in urban areas is immensely higher than in poorer and more remote rural areas. This inequity in ICT educational access and quality is also seen between richer private and schools and government public schools and poorer private schools, as the wealthier schools are able to independently finance the development of ICT programs. Both of these equality gaps are serving to increase the already massive gap between the rich and poor populations in Tanzania (Swarts & Mwiyeria, 2010).

Rural areas also face problems in implementing ICT education beyond the difficulties that the expensive nature of ICT causes. The combination of rural schools' isolation, lack of infrastructure (particularly electricity and internet access), small school sizes, and "cultural realities" makes ICT education particularly challenging to implement in rural areas (Hepp, Hinostroza, Laval, & Rehbein, 2004). Gender inequities are also of particular relevance to ICT education. Hafkin(2002) identifies two categories of gender issues involving women's access and use of ICT in developing countries, those which are related to existing, broader societal inequalities which affect women's use of ICT and those specific to ICT policy. Many of these issues relate to the rural-based inequality in ICT access and quality, as women make up the majority of populations in rural areas, as well existing social and cultural attitudes toward women's education and use of ICT and the present inequality of women's education and skills. The ability to overcome these barriers is severely impeded by the existence of the previous

challenges, which combine to both cause and perpetuate educational inequalities in terms of both access and quality.

Other Challenges

It is also important to note that the challenges listed above are not the only obstacles facing ICT education. In addition to the challenges that are comparable between ESR and ETP, ICT education faces further impediments to its implementation. Many of these are particular to the nature of ICT education and technology in general, such as its tendency to change and become outdated quickly, increasing not only the expense of ICT programs, but also the difficulty in accessing and updating the technology swiftly enough and teaching both teachers and students how to use it. Furthermore, ICT education and all technology contain an inherent language barrier, in that most equipment and educational materials are written in English. Students at the primary school level, and many of those still struggling with English at the secondary level, will be restricted or at least hindered by this language barrier. Additionally, the question of the relevance of ICT education, particularly to rural areas, must be addressed. ICT and technology in general is often perceived as being less significant or pertinent to developing countries and rural areas, where there are very limited technology or technological advancements available to the general population. This affects both attitudes toward ICT as well as ICT-related knowledge and skill levels in the populations.

6.2 LESSONS FROM ESR

The parallels between the challenges that face the ESR and ETP policies allow for both further research as well as some basic conclusions to be drawn. This thesis does not seek to offer solutions to these numerous and exceedingly complicated problems, but rather hopes that by highlighting the historical similarities between the policies and their challenges, a more realistic and accurate view of the future of ETP and ICT education will be achieved. It appears unlikely that the ETP policy's implementation of its TE program should succeed, or at least flourish, when confronted with the same daunting challenges that thwarted ESR and its EWP program. Therefore, these challenges should be evaluated and, if possible, addressed by the Tanzanian government. Since so many aspects of the multiple challenges are interrelated and interactive, particularly the first challenge of resources, it may be necessary to revise certain portions of the policy and its expectations to minimize the impact of the challenges and make the policy implementation more realistic and the goals more attainable.

The 2007 ICT policy does acknowledge resource issues as a specific challenge to its implementation and states that the ICT education will be introduced in stages as a gradual process, beginning with Teacher's Colleges, in order to account for resource limitations. It also acknowledges the danger of ICT to increase existing inequalities through the disparate provision and relevance of ICT education, particularly between rural and urban areas (The Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2007). However, these acknowledgements have not been sufficient to address these issues, which have still proven to be critical impediments to the ICT policy (Swarts & Mwiyeria, 2010).

The fact that so many of the same issues and challenges from the ESR period are still present in the educational system today is paralleled by a similar pattern in the wider

development education context, in which many of the same problems and "big research questions [are] appearing, at least superficially, to be the same as they were 30 years ago" (McGrath, 2010, p. 538). This further indicates the necessity of considering and attempting to address these reoccurring issues in the current educational policy, in order for progress to be made. This is easier said than done, of course, as these issues so often contain such insurmountable complexities and barriers that resolving them becomes largely impossible.

Some of the challenges can better be addressed than others. Problems with teacher training, problems with curriculum and implementation, and a lack of evaluation can be managed to some degree through increased government attention to these problems and appropriate changes in policies, procedures, and activities. Other problems, such as resource issues and attitudes, are less able to be directly confronted. However, in making policy reforms, implementing policy, and considering policy impact, all of these challenges need to be taken into account. Despite the difficulties, it remains necessary to confront these reoccurring and self-perpetuating challenges in order that the "rediscovery of vocational education does not reflect another change in fashion but leads to a new approach that can go some way to addressing the critiques" (McGrath, 2010, p. 538). Ultimately, it unreasonable to expect a policy to succeed when others have failed before it, faced with similar challenges.

7.0 CASE STUDY: EDUCATORS' PERSPECTIVES AT KARAGWE SECONDARY SCHOOL

This chapter seeks to better understand the views toward and experiences under Tanzanian educational policy through a small case study on educators' perspectives at Karagwe Secondary School in the Kagera Region. This section is based upon eleven open-ended interviews conducted with teachers and school heads in Karagwe in July 2010. It is hoped that it will enable this thesis, which has focused mainly upon policy, to recognize and consider the different points of view of educators in the Tanzanian educational system. Educators' perspectives are particularly interesting because of their position in regards to both students and policy-makers; they essentially act as mediators between the domain of policy and curriculum and the domain of students and parents, the ultimate interpreters and implementers of that policy. Because of this position, they have a unique viewpoint of government policymakers and the students, parents, and wider communities in Tanzania, around which their own perspectives and opinions are formed and with which they interact.

It is hoped that this section will provide some insight into current educator perspectives regarding the history and philosophy of ESR, the existing educational goals, definitions and aims of relevant education, and the current problems facing education in Tanzania.

7.1 INTERVIEW SETTINGS

Karagwe Secondary School (KARASECO) is a coed secondary boarding school teaching Forms One through Six. It is a religiously affiliated private school, owned by the ELCT Karagwe Diocese. It has 550 students, (354 boys and 196 girls), 25 teachers, and 15 staff members. It is a high-quality school, with consistently high rankings among secondary schools with high student examination scores, and annual school fees. KARASECO is a rural school, located about twenty minutes by truck from the capital Kayanga of the Karagwe District in the north-western Kagera Region.

7.1.1 Interview Methodology

The data was collected from eleven open-ended, qualitative interviews in July 2010. The group interviewed consisted of eight secondary school teachers and two school heads at KARASECO, as well as one school head from a public primary school in Karagwe. Nine of the interviewees were male and two were female. The interviewees ranged in years of teaching experience from three years to twenty-four years, and nine of the interviewees had prior experience with public schools and four had prior experience with primary schools, including the one primary school head. The nature of the interviews were conversational and open-ended, with only a few guiding questions that were focused on both personally defined and policy defined definitions of relevant education as well as broad discussions about the problems, challenges, and potential solutions concerning the educational system today.

The decision to interview educators primarily from a private, religious-affiliated secondary boarding school in a rural area has important consequences for the data collected.

Private schools in Tanzania tend to be of higher quality than public schools because of outside and independent funding. The environment of rural schools is also very different from the environments of typical urban schools. Therefore, the perspectives and experiences of educators at such a school will be very different from those at either public schools or urban schools. Furthermore, it is likely that the educators at KARASECO have better training and more education than the majority of educators in Tanzania, because of KARASECO's ability to be selective and also offer a more competitive salary and benefits. All of these factors will impact the perspectives considered within this section, in ways that are not necessarily foreseeable.

The purpose of the research study, as described to participants, was an attempt to discern how the different definitions and perspectives surrounding the concept of relevant education manifest themselves in the educational system. The participants were told that the research was concerned both with the concept of relevant education and also with understanding the impact of the old ESR policy and its place in education in Tanzania. The interviews were conducted using an open-ended interview guide, which included key questions to focus the interview. Because of the open-ended and conversational nature of the interviews, not all of the questions on the interview guide were asked and there was no specific order to either the topics or questions within the interviews. Relevant education was usually the first topic of discussion. From there, at times that were deemed appropriate, questions from the interview guide were selected to direct the discussion toward further topics of interest. All of the participants appeared enthusiastic to discuss the current state of the educational system, and they often required little prompting to present their opinions. An attempt was made to maintain the flow of the conversation, and the questions were based upon the interviewees' previous responses, although the questions were

often interested in common themes of relevance, implementation challenges, and the current problems with the educational system.

7.2 PARTICIPANT PERSPECTIVES ON RELEVANT EDUCATION AND CHALLENGES

As an introductory question, participants were asked what makes education "relevant" to Tanzanian students. The participants were asked to consider the Tanzanian educational system as it related to both formal primary and secondary education and all Tanzanian students in general, not just within the context of KARASECO. All additional following questions were asked within the context of the first responses, using the open-ended interview guide questions for direction.

In very broad terms, the participants tended to define relevant education as education that prepares students for life in their appropriate environments, whether in terms of employment, personal improvement, economic development, or other conditions. Regardless of exact definitions, the interview discussions invariably and quickly shifted to focus on current problems and challenges that were impediments to educational relevance for Tanzanian students. Thus, in many ways, relevant education was defined by the interviewees within the context of the greater problems of the educational system.

7.2.1 Defining relevance

Responses to the initial question of what makes education relevant to students generally took one of two approaches. Participants either defined what a relevant education would achieve in general, broad terms, or they defined relevant education within the context of what the current educational system was attempting to achieve. It is not known why two such divergent groups of responses appeared, one category which provided a general understanding and definition of the concept of educational relevance and another category which defined relevant education only within the terms and context of the current educational policy.

Responses within the first category tended to associate relevant education with a broader purpose of preparing students for life and work. Participant responses included definitions such as "relevance in education is an education that meets the interests and needs of the people… education that will make students independent and have the knowledge to change their environment" (Interview 4, personal communication, July 14, 2010). In some cases, this was more directly connected with work and employment, and several participants indicated that relevant education "is intended to equip people to be employed within society" (Interview 6, personal communication, July 19, 2010) and that the "purpose of education is to allow pupils to earn a good living and to improve homes and communities" (Interview 2, personal communication, July 13, 2010).

Responses within the second category ranged from broad definitions of education in Tanzania as "the transmission of knowledge, skills, and values from generation to generation" (Interview 1, personal communication, July 13, 2010) to more specific statements of educational intent, such as the definition that "the aim of education, according to government policy, is to reduce or eradicate poverty among Tanzanians" (Interview 11, personal communication, July 20,

2010). Another participant stated that the "goal of the educational system is to make students self-reliant and know their own environment and how to live in it and control it" (Interview 8, personal communication, July 20, 2010). These participants appeared to not separate the concept of relevant education from the educational policy's goals and objectives for education. This indicates either that their definitions of what makes education relevant is an education that fulfills policy objectives, or it indicates a poorly phrased or understood initial question. Alternatively, the participants may have chosen to explain the concept of relevant education through the current policy and its goals because they consider the current policy to be a good embodiment of relevant education.

After the initial question about relevant education and the participant response, the participants continued to expand upon their first statements, usually without prompting or additional questions. The direction of the interview typically moved toward discussions about the barriers or challenges facing the achievement of relevant education or current educational goals. These discussions followed several common themes, focusing often upon larger issues within the Tanzanian educational system.

7.2.2 Practice-Theory balance issue in education

The most common issue to be brought up in connection with relevant education was the presence of practice in combination with theoretical knowledge in education, labeled here as the practice-theory issue. The incorporation of practical education was simultaneously indicated as a necessary component for relevant education and also as a deficiency within the current educational system, which was said to be too focused upon theoretical learning and knowledge, and not enough upon practice and skills for students. One participant stated that the "educational

system tries to provide relevant education but something is missing. The educational system relies on theories, does not prepare people to go directly into environment. Practical knowledge and application is missing within education" (Interview 4, personal communication, July 14, 2010). Another participant criticized education in Tanzania as being "very much knowledge-based and theoretical, but students have no way to use it… The nature of teaching is stimulated by theory and classes do not teach students independence or practicals" (Interview 7, personal communication, July 19, 2010). This participant goes on to stress the importance of skills acquisition by students and the necessity of practical education and knowledge in order for students to attain employment.

As indicated above, there was a prevalent view among participants that the educational system was severely flawed because of a lack of "practice" or "practicals" within the curriculum. Even subjects who were previously practice-focused during ESR, such as those in agricultural science, were identified as lacking "practical learning opportunities" and do not allow students to put into practice the theoretical knowledge that they gain in class or develop truly useful skills (Interview 8, personal communication, July 20, 2010). This lack of practical education is viewed by the participant as detracting from educational relevance, since "most Tanzanians do manual occupations and agriculture, so Tanzanians need to know the basics of agriculture… Practical knowledge is necessary for every Tanzanian. Every Tanzanian should grow crops, keep animals, and be able to provide for their own consumption needs" (Interview 8, personal communication, July 20, 2010). This was echoed by another participant, who felt that vocational education or training should be offered in both primary and secondary schools as a mandatory component of the curriculum (Interview 4, personal communication, July 14, 2010). One participant offered an

explanation for the lack of practical education as rooted within both the "lack of resources and the learning methods" in schools (Interview 2, personal communication, July 13, 2010).

However, not every participant had a negative view on the current balance of theory and practice in the educational system. One participant maintained that "theories are taught within classes, while outside of the classroom activities are also important" in contributing to personal development and learning through practice (Interview 9, personal communication, July 20, 2010). The participant stressed the value of the school farm, sports, student government, spiritual activities, and other clubs in contributing to the students' education. However it is interesting to note that this participant did not have teaching experience outside of private secondary schools, which may skew the participant's perspective on the role of such extra-curricular activities in the wider educational system. Since KARASECO is a relatively well-funded and high-quality private school, it has many more activities and opportunities available to its students than the majority of schools, particularly public schools.

As indicated in many of the perspectives above, the majority of participants associated the practice-theory issue primarily with agricultural and vocational education and skills, as did the ESR policy. However, science and technology were mentioned within the interviews of eight of the participants, with varying degrees of emphasis. Some participants identified the focus of practical education as shifting toward science and technology education. It was recognized that "IT facilities need to be established to train students and experts to utilize available information, as a means of increasing self-independence" (Interview 11, personal communication, July 20, 2010). One participant felt that "sciences are only place that allow for practical work, because of the laboratories" (Interview 8, personal communication, July 20, 2010), while another stressed that "technological changes can be used or implemented by the educated" to help improve their

communities and promote economic development (Interview 10, personal communication, July 20, 2010). However, one of the participants noted the difficulties in achieving practical education in technology and sciences because they include assumptions about resources which students in rural areas do not have, such as computers (Interview 2, personal communication, July 13, 2010).

7.2.3 References to ESR policy and philosophy

Many common ESR philosophies and ideas were also brought up during the course of the interviews, particularly in reference to the subject of relevant education. One interviewee indicated that the goal of education was "to make students self-reliant and know their own environment and how to live in and control it" (Interview 8, personal communication, July 20, 2010), words that echo Nyerere's ESR document. Both direct and indirect references to the ESR policy occurred most frequently with older teachers with longer teaching experiences, but also among younger teachers. Many of the direct references to ESR were related more to the policy's intentions and goals rather than its actual outcomes. One participant explained that the "major aim [of ESR] was to combine theories and practicals within education" which included "agricultural practices, carpentry, mechanics, woodworking, handicrafts, animal-keeping, etc." (Interview 1, personal communication, July 13, 2010). The participant went on to describe many other objectives of ESR for students, particularly the economic and personal-development aspects, but said little about the success or validity of the program, beyond mentioning that the ESR goals were often "blocked by mentality of white-collar jobs" among Tanzanians (Interview 1, personal communication, July 13, 2010). Another participant said of ESR that it "allowed Tanzanian students who graduate to be able to be independent, with complete knowledge of what

they need to do to survive and live within community and environment" (Interview 8, personal communication, July 20, 2010). However, it is unclear whether the participant is referencing the goals of ESR or the actual outcomes of the policy.

Several participants did comment upon the impact and outcomes of the ESR policy, mostly implicating poor implementation, lack of resources, and resistance from students as reasons for its eventual failure. One of the most direct criticism of ESR was that the "program did not do enough to make pupils self-reliant," especially in primary schools (Interview 2, personal communication July 13, 2010). However, no participants directly rejected any of the philosophies or ideas of ESR, and many continued to believe in the values and potential for success of ESR ideals (Interview 1, personal communication, July 13, 2010). The continuation of ESR ideas is reflected in participants' statements about self-reliance, entrepreneurship, and the importance of education being appropriate to the students' environments. One participant felt that students "should be taught entrepreneurship" in schools, because "currently they have a low knowledge of self-reliance… with such knowledge, could reduce the unemployment rate and increase entrepreneurship to support themselves" (Interview 10, personal communication, July 20, 2010).

7.2.4 Problems associated with achieving relevant education

The problems that the interviewees discussed in association with relevant education fit generally into three categories: problems within the educational system, problems with the economic sector of Tanzania, and problems with parent or student attitudes and expectations. However, despite the commonality and consensus among the problems discussed, many participants

viewed these challenges from different angles and offered potential solutions that demonstrated a wide range of approaches and thinking about problems within the educational system.

The most common issue that was raised by the participants falls into the extensive category of problems that are based within the broader Tanzanian educational system. This category is inclusive of the general theory-practice issue, but also includes identified issues such as poor policies and implementation by the government and inadequate examination systems. Combined, these problems lead to failure of education to provide students with a relevant education, encapsulated by the general view that "current education does not prepare students for what is needed in their lives" (Interview 3, personal communication, July 14, 2010).

There were a variety of issues with the policy and subject curricula that were brought up by the participants, many of whom felt that the majority of problems in the educational system were "due to a lack of resources, but also because of poor planning and policies" (Interview 11, personal communication, July 20, 2010). One of the largest problems addressed was that "policy is constructed mostly from a top-to-down method, but needs to focus more on down-to-top construction" by including more opinions by educators and students at the local levels (Interview 11, personal communication, July 20, 2010). Another large issue identified in educational policy and implementation was resource-based. One participant indicated that the fact that the "government cannot meet needs of all students" leads to the need for private schools to meet demands, which in turn leads to the disadvantage of poor students (Interview 5, personal communication, July 16, 2010). There were also many attacks made upon the poor or failed attempts to implement policies, with one participant remarking that the "policymakers in government are not policy implementers" (Interview 3, personal communication, July 14, 2010). It was also felt that the changes and reforms made to educational policies and syllabi were not

only inappropriate and caused crowded and ineffective teaching, but also that the "measures to be implemented and change the system take too long to change" due to implementation that is "faulty and slow" (Interview 6, personal communication, July 19, 2010).

Another common educational issue that was discussed focused upon the current examination system, mentioned by six of the participants in their interviews. Many participants felt that the national examinations and the heavy focus on them by both teachers and students led to mindsets and attitudes that further decreased the relevance of education to the students, as "students focus on passing examinations and not other benefits of education" (Interview 2, personal communication, July 13, 2010). This issue can be viewed as related to the practice-theory issue, as the importance of examinations within the educational system demonstrates the emphasis on theoretical knowledge (Interview 4, personal communication, July 14, 2010). The prevalence of "exam-oriented education" in Tanzania and "learning for examinations" was cited as a measure that prepares students only for further education and white-collar jobs, without providing students with true or useful knowledge for their lives (Interview 1, personal communication, July 13, 2010). This was reiterated by another participant, who stated that "students memorize information without attaining true knowledge," while students who do not pass their examinations or continue their education do not benefit from the education that they received, as they have little knowledge that is valuable for their environment (Interview 4, personal communication, July 14, 2010). Furthermore, participants felt that the examination system was a barrier to the use of practical education, as the current system "does not give students opportunity to be examined in practical matters or skills, only book learning" (Interview 3, personal communication, July 14, 2010).

The second common issue identified by participants as affecting the achievement of relevant education was the nature of the economic and industrial sectors in Tanzania and the associated consequence of unemployment for students. Because of Tanzania's relatively small industrial sector and the lack of professional career opportunities, the Tanzanian economy cannot support or employ all of the students who pass through the educational system. Therefore, many students are prepared for and desire "white-collar" jobs in the modern sector, but the vast majority are unable to achieve these career paths, and instead remain unemployed, in both rural and urban areas. This problem was mentioned in five of the interviews at various points. As one participant pointed out, in Tanzania "jobs are scarce. Most employment comes from the government; not enough industry or private sector to employ more people" (Interview 4, personal communication, July 14, 2010).

Although this was the common problem emphasized among the interviewees, there was a divergence in responses to this crisis. The participant in Interview 4 progressed to the conclusion that, as a result of this problem, education is needed to instill "a sense of self-reliance and entrepreneurship" by teaching skills and knowledge that students can use in rural areas (personal communication, July 14, 2010). This is in contrast to another participant, who felt that the main problem to be solved lay within the lack of industrial development, stating that "if the industry could expand, would be enough jobs for students" (Interview 2, personal communication, July 13, 2010). Along these lines, if Tanzania developed its industrial sector then the issue would be resolved, and students could achieve the jobs that they wanted.

Another participant took a similar approach to the issue, stating that "only a fraction of the students who graduate from the university each year can be employed, while the rest must employ themselves… this is because the labor market is not well-prepared… not enough of a

private sector to employ these people" (Interview 3, personal communication, July 14, 2010). However, the interviewee goes beyond modern industrial development in his criticism of the "labor market" and says that the agricultural sector must also be developed in order to employ more people and successfully promote rural development: the "labor market is also unable to employ people who work in agricultural work. Farmers and manual laborers do not have a reliable work market… creates attitude toward agriculture as a way for survival, not a job or career" (Interview 3, personal communication, July 14 2010). These different perspectives on a common issue illustrate the variety in approaches and perspectives among the interviewees, but also demonstrate the centrality of the larger issue to discussions about educational relevance.

The third issue was focused upon student attitudes and expectations toward education and employment. In general the educators indicated that education in Tanzania "is viewed as a source of income to students and Tanzanian people" (Interview 6, personal communication, July 19, 2010). This relates to student attitudes toward both manual labor and rural areas, since "salaries and cities provide better social services, social security, health, and guaranteed employment" and students therefore "don't want to be self-employed or live in rural areas" (Interview 4, personal communication, July 14, 2010). These attitudes toward rural employment and agriculture are shared by parents, who "also want students to go to higher education and get careers and salaries" and "do not see how vocational training can help students" (Interview 3, personal communication, July 14, 2010). These attitudes, in combination with the economic sector realities of Tanzania and the predominantly rural population, make the current educational system inappropriate for most students. As a result, "students who go to school are not prepared for futures and do not have accurate visions of how future will be. Every student studies without

knowing end result of completion of studies, and without knowing why studies are important" (Interview 3, personal communication, July 14, 2010).

This attitude problem was mentioned by seven of the participants in their interviews, but there were several different approaches and explanations for the true cause of the problem. Several of the participants felt that it was necessary for student perspectives and attitudes to change in order for education to become more relevant, a philosophy that is in line with Nyerere's ESR policy. This perspective believes that the "colonial mentality of white-collar jobs" are a main barrier to achieving relevant education, as "students remain desirous of white-collar jobs and living in towns because of concern for individual advancement," instead of recognizing or accepting a decent life in rural areas (Interview1, personal communication, July 13, 2010). However, another group of participants did not feel that it was student attitudes that needed to be addressed directly, but rather the rural environment and nature of rural occupations. As one participant stated, "rural areas need to become better" and it is primarily a lack of resources and government involvement that limits rural development (Interview 2, personal communication, July 13, 2010). Therefore, these participants believed that it was "necessary to improve rural areas to attract both teachers and studetns and improve educational systems in those areas" first, instead of focusing on changing student attitudes toward rural areas (Interview 4, personal communication, July 14, 2010).

7.3 PARTICIPANT PERSPECTIVES CONSIDERED

To a large degree, ideas about relevant education appear to remain connected with rural-based issues of relevance and occupation, such as agriculture and manual labor. This may reflect a link with the old ESR policy, which also stressed rural-oriented vocational education as a way to achieve relevant education in Tanzania. However, only few of the participants were employed by the educational system before the 1995 ETP policy, and ESR had already been weakening in schools by the 1980s. The most direct experience with ESR that many of the participants would have would be as students within the educational system, not as educators.

Only four of the participants mentioned science and technology within the discussion about relevant education, and only two participants stressed the need for greater IT (ICT) education as a way to improve educational relevance. This is not aligned with the 1995 ETP policy shift toward technology education and the new work-oriented education focus on ICT. These results may indicate a long-term impact of the ESR philosophy and policy on discussions about relevant education, or it may be an indicator of the relative unimportance of technology education and ICT in the educational system. Although it is in a rural area, which generally consider technology and ICT education to be less relevant, KARASECO possesses a handful of computers and internet connections and has implemented a compulsory ICT program for its students (Interview 11, personal communication, July 20, 2010). As a private secondary school, KARASECO is atypical in its possession of ICT equipment and classes, which makes the lack of participant references to ICT education in the context of relevant education more perplexing.

The strong tendency for discussions about relevant education to focus, almost immediately, upon the problems of the educational system was unexpected. This trend may be indicator either of an unintentional signaling through the interview process or explanation of the

interview goals, or it may reflect a common approach to discussions about educational policy among teachers and school heads, which are perhaps problem- and solution- oriented in focus.

Additionally, the manifestation of so many repeating themes and ideas within the separate interviews may be an indicator of the popularity or prevalence of these same issues in national discussions about education. This is particularly evident with the topic of "theory versus practice" that was brought up in every interview, and which is also mentioned within the 1995 ETP policy. I was informed by a participant that the identification of education as "theory-based, not practical… has recently been identified as a major problem at the government and policy level, and has become a major issue in schools today" (Interview 11, personal communication, July 20, 2010). The issue's popularity within current policy discussions at the national and locals levels could explain the familiarity of so many of the participants with the subject and its reoccurrence within the interviews.

In general, the data from the interviews indicate that there are a wide variety of approaches to relevant education among educators, but that there is a general consensus about the identification of the basic problems in the educational system that prevent relevance from being achieved. In addition, many of these identified problems are related to the problems discussed in Chapter Six, which focused on the similarities between challenges facing both the ESR and ETP policies. This appears to reinforce the need to address and attempt to resolve these recurring issues in order for education to be made more relevant to Tanzanian students.

8.0 CONCLUSION

Since independence, education in Tanzania has undergone a series of continuations and transformations in an attempt to reform and improve educational access, quality, and relevance for Tanzanian students. There has been significant progress made in these endeavors, and earnest attempts have continuously been made by policymakers, teachers, students, and communities to harness the benefits of education to improve economic, political, and social conditions throughout society. Throughout all of these changes, the history and impact of past educational endeavors have had critical roles in influencing new developments in education, as well as in the ways in which these changes are received.

The similarity demonstrated between the two policies in question through their use of the work-oriented education model strongly implies that both policies will be affected in similar ways by similar challenges. Although it is difficult to trace the exact impact and causes of ESR's obstacles and ineffectiveness, it appears likely that the combination of the complex and insolvable challenges severely limited its effectiveness and successful implementation – the same challenges that face the current ETP policy. Furthermore, and perhaps most importantly, the parallels in challenges between the 1967 ESR policy and the current 1995 ETP policy that are revealed through a secondary analysis of both policies are echoed by educators within the Tanzanian educational system, who called many of the same or related issues to attention during open-ended interviews. This illustrates the urgency and necessity of addressing these issues

within the current policy, and, most critically, within the development, planning, and implementation of any future policies.

It will be necessary for policymakers to take these issues into account not only during the implementation of educational policies, but also during the planning stage of the policies. It is futile to develop policies that require financial and personnel resources that are not available, that will also be met with resistance by the people receiving them, and that will increase existing inequalities within an already stratified society. This is not to imply that these challenges should not be confronted or that policymakers should not attempt to overcome them; however policymakers must take all of these factors into consideration and attempt to reasonably determine what they can and cannot accomplish with a policy given these specific challenges.

In 1969, in reference to the introduction of the new 1967 ESR policy in Tanzania, Philip Foster commented that "it is a sad reflection indeed on the current state of educational planning in much of Africa, that so few lessons have been learnt from the record of past experiments and one can only conclude with Santayana that those who have failed to study history are condemned to repeat it" (1969, p. 100). In many ways, this statement has remained relevant with time: the importance of recognizing the societal inheritances of history is no less important to the progress of educational policy today. This is demonstrated through the striking similarities that persist between the two most recent Tanzanian educational polices, particularly in the challenges that have threatened their effectiveness. Acknowledging the parallels between the two policies and recognizing the significance of lessons from the past will be crucial undertakings in overcoming these challenges and ensuring future progress and success.

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